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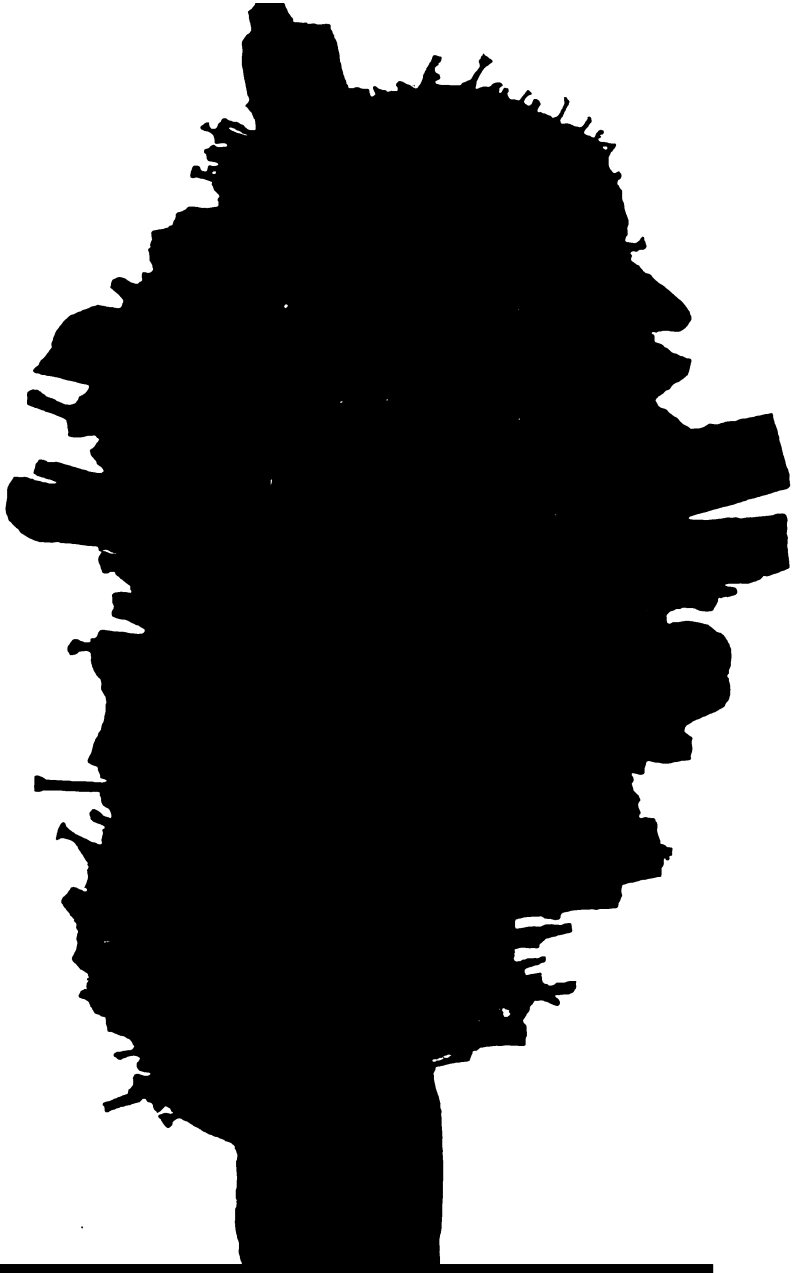

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NATIVE NAMES. RULES FOR SPELLING

Members and Contributors when writing for the Society's Journal are requested to adhere to the Rules adopted by the Royal Geographical Society.

The Rules referred to are as follows:—

1. No change is made in the orthography of foreign names in countries which use Roman letters: thus Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, &c., names will be spelt as by the respective nations.

2. Neither is change made in the spelling of such names in languages which are not written in Roman character as have become by long usage familiar to English readers: thus Calcutta, Cutch, Celebes, Mecca, &c., will be retained in their present form.

3. The true sound of the word as locally pronounced will be taken as the basis of the spelling.

4. An approximation, however, to the sound is alone aimed at. A system which would attempt to represent the more delicate inflexions of sound and accent would be so complicated as only to defeat itself. Those who desire a more accurate pronunciation of the written name must learn it on the spot by a study of local accent and peculiarities.

5. *The broad features of the system* are:—

(*a*) That vowels are pronounced as in Italian and consonants as in English.

(*b*) Every letter is pronounced, and no redundant letters are introduced. When two vowels come together, each one is sounded, though the result, when spoken quickly, is sometimes scarcely to be distinguished from a single sound, as in *ai*, *au*, *ei*.

(*c*) Two accents only are used. (1) The acute, to denote the syllable on which stress is laid. The use of this accent is very important, as the sounds of many names are entirely altered by the misplacement of this "stress." (2) The sign ᴗ with the vowel U, when followed by two different consonants, to indicate that the sound is short; as Tŭng, pronounced as in the English word *tongue*.

6. Indian names are accepted as spelt in Hunter's Gazetteer of India, 1881.

7. In the case of native names in countries under the dominion of other European Powers in whose maps, charts, &c., the spelling is given according to the system adopted by that Power, such orthography should be as a rule disregarded, and the names spelt according to the British system, in order that the proper pronunciation may be approximately known. Exceptions should be in cases where the spelling has become by custom fixed, and occasionally it may be desirable to give both forms.

8. Generic geographical terms, *e.g.* those for Island, River, Mountain, &c., should be as a rule given in the native form. In the case of European countries, translation into English, where this has been the custom, should be retained, *e.g.* Cape Ortegal, not Cabo Ortegal, River Seine, not Fleuve Seine.

N.B.—On any printed map or MS. document, an explanatory table giving the English equivalents of the generic terms used, should of necessity be inserted.

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The following amplification of these rules explains their application:—

Letters.	Pronunciation and Remarks.	Examples.
a	*ah*, *a* as in *father*	Java, Banána, Somáli, Bari.
e	*eh*, *a* as in *fate*, *e* in *benefit*	Tel-el-Kebír, Oléleh, Yezo, Medina, Levúka, Peru.
i	English *e*; *i* as in *ravine*; the sound of *ee* in *beet* . . . . . Thus, not *Feejee*, but	Fiji, Hindi.
o	*o* as in *mote*	Tokyo.
u	long *u* as in *flute*; the sound of *oo* in *boot*. *oo* or *ou* should never be employed for this sound . . . Thus, not *Zooloo*, but	Zulu, Sumatra.
	The shorter sound of the different vowels, when necessary to be indicated, can be expressed by doubling the consonant that follows. The sounds referred to are as follows:— The short *a*, as in *fatter*, as compared with the long *a*, as in *father*. . . The short *e*, as in *better*, as compared with the long *e*, as in *fate* . . . The short *i*, as in *sinner*, as compared with the long *i*, as in *ravine* . . The short *o*, as in *sobbing*, as compared with the long *o*, as in *sober* The short *u*, as in *rubber*, as compared with the long *u*, as in *rubric*	Yarra, Tanna, Mecca, Jidda, Bonny.*
	In the case of two different consonants following a short *u*, the accent *ü* may be used instead of doubling the consonant, as *Tüng*, pronounced *tongue*.	
	Doubling of a vowel is only necessary where there is a distinct repetition of the single sound.	Nuulúa, Oosima.
ai	as in *aisle*, or English *i* as in *ice* . . .	Shanghai.
au	*ow* as in *how* . . Thus, not *Foochow*, but	Fuchau.
ao	is slightly different from above . . .	Macao.
aw	when followed by a consonant or at the end of a word, as in *law*.	Cawnpore.
ei	is the sound of the two Italian vowels, but is frequently slurred over, when it is scarcely to be distinguished from *ei* in the English *eight* or *ey* in the English *they*.	Beirút, Beilúl.
b	English *b*.	
c	is always soft, but is so nearly the sound of *s* that it should be seldom used. If *Celébes* were not already recognised it would be written *Selébes*.	Celébes.
ch	is always soft as in *church*	Chingchin.
d	English *d*.	
f	English *f*. *ph* should not be used for the sound of *f*. Thus, not *Haiphong*, but	Haifong, Nafa.

* The *y* is retained as a terminal in this word under Rule 2 above. The word is given as a familiar example of the alteration in sound caused by the second consonant.

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Letters.	Pronunciation and Remarks.	Examples.
g	is always hard. (Soft *g* is given by *j*) .	Galápagos.
h	is always pronounced when inserted.	
hw	as in *what;* better rendered by *hw* than by *wh*, or *h* followed by a vowel, thus *Hwang ho*, not *Whang ho*, or *Hoang ho.*	Hwang ho, Ngan hwei.
j	English *j*. *Dj* should never be put for this sound.	Japan, Jinchuen.
k	English *k*. It should always be put for the hard *c*. Thus, not *Corea*, but	Korea.
kh	The Oriental guttural	Khan.
gh	is another guttural, as in the Turkish .	Dagh, Ghazi.
l m n	As in English.	
ng	has two separate sounds, the one hard as in the English word *finger*, the other as in *singer*. As these two sounds are rarely employed in the same locality, no attempt is made to distinguish between them.	
p	As in English.	
ph	As in *loophole*	Chemulpho, Mokpho.
th	stands both for its sound in *thing*, and as in *this*. The former is most common.	Bethlehem.
q	should never be employed; *qu* (in *quiver*) is given as *kw*. When *qu* has the sound of *k* as in *quoit*, it should be given by *k*.	Kwangtung.
r s sh t v w x	As in English.	Sawákin.
y	is always a consonant, as in *yard*, and therefore should never be used as a terminal, *i* or *e* being substituted as the sound may require. Thus, not *Mikindány*, *wady*, but not *Kwaly*, but	Kikúyu. Mikindáni, wadi. Kwale.
z	English *z*	Zulu.
zh	The French *j*, or as *s* in *treasure*	Muzhdaha.
	Accents should not generally be used, but where there is a very decided emphatic syllable or stress, which affects the sound of the word, it should be marked by an *acute* accent.	Tongatábu, Galápagos, Paláwan, Saráwak.

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NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

WEST AFRICAN FINANCES

THE difficulty which at once presents itself to any one desiring to study the statistics of our West African Colonies, is the lack of fullness and continuity of the figures which are available to the general public. There is also a considerable delay in the publication of them. It is extraordinary that whilst complete statistics of the enormous and complicated trade of Great Britain can be published in full detail within a few months of the completion of each year, often a year or sometimes nearly two years may elapse before the comparatively simple figures relating to our West African Colonies are issued. Nor are these statements when published, as satisfactory as they might and ought to be. It is not always clear how the values of exports and imports are ascertained, whether the prices on which they are founded are those on the coast or based on European market prices, whether the cost of packages, freight etc. is included, or whether each of the colonies employs

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the same system as the others. According to the Statistical Abstract for the Colonies, on the Gold Coast after 1893 an estimated amount (to cover freight, packing etc.) has been added to the values of the imports. Further, in the Gambia colony, after the year 1890, it is stated that the values of the imports are those for "consumption," but what this actually means is difficult to say. A further perplexity arises with reference to transit trade, since neither in the Statistical Abstract nor in the Reports on the Colonial Blue Books is full information given. Possibly the Blue Books themselves may quote these figures in a better form, but these it is difficult, if not impossible to obtain in this country. As an illustration of the embarrassment arising from this absence of information, it may be mentioned that the exports from Sierra Leone during the three years ending 1897 averaged about £430,000 whereas during the three following years there is an apparent decline to about £330,000. At first sight one would conclude that this is entirely due to the unfortunate outbreak after the imposition of the Hut Tax, but there is little doubt that a portion of the difference is due to regulations adopted by the authorities in the Guinée Française, which prevented merchants shipping produce from French Territories to Europe via Sierra Leone. Nor is it easy to ascertain how far the fluctuations in West African trade are due to fluctuations in prices rather than in quantity. One can only hope that some day the authorities at the Colonial Office will realise the importance of full and accurate statistics, for it is impossible to form accurate conclusions as to the progress of our West African Colonies if we have not reliable data to work upon.

The figures alluded to in this article are almost entirely based on those published in the Statistical Abstract for the Colonies. The statistics are given in round numbers and are probably only approximately correct, but as a comparative statement they are sufficient for the present purpose, which is to draw attention to the subject, and not to do more than suggest conclusions based on them. It is hardly possible for any one not trained in the proper use of statistics to make an entirely satisfactory use of such figures as are within reach of private persons. If however some eminent statistician should think it

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worth while to study the figures to which attention is here drawn the object of the present article will have been attained.

No one who takes the most cursory glance at the following tables can fail to be struck by the enormous increase in the cost of administration of the West African Colonies during the last ten years. The total annual expenditure for the four Crown Colonies Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Lagos since 1880 is in round figures as follows:—

1881 ...	£273,000	1886 ...	£276,000	1891 ...	£297,000	1896 ...	£591,000
1882 ...	243,000	1887 ...	300,000	1892 ...	357,000	1897 ...	556,000
1883 ...	228,000	1888 ...	279,000	1893 ...	403,000	1898 ...	611,000
1884 ...	273,000	1889 ...	268,000	1894 ...	477,000	1899 ...	708,000
1885 ...	251,000	1890 ...	267,000	1895 ...	535,000	1900 ...	[1] 719,000
	£1,268,000		£1,390,000		£2,069,000		£3,185,000
			Increase £122,000		Increase £679,000		Increase £1,016,000

It will be noticed that from 1881 to 1891 no great change occurred, the expenditure varying from £228,000 in 1883 to £300,000 in 1887; but in 1892 there was a sudden expansion of £60,000 followed by even larger increases in the succeeding years; so that whereas the expenditure during the five years ending 1890 rose by £122,000, or at the rate of £24,000 per annum, above that of the previous quinquennial period, at the end of 1895 the annual expenditure had augmented by £679,000 or £130,000 per annum. An increase from £1,390,000 to £2,069,000 cannot be lightly regarded, amounting as it does to nearly 50 per cent. But when we turn to the next period viz. that ending in 1900 we find an increase of £1,016,000 or £203,000 per annum, or nearly 50 per cent. more than in 1895. In other words where we spent £139 in 1890 we are now spending £318. It is hardly necessary to point out that such an enormous growth calls for the serious attention of every one who has the welfare of West Africa at heart; for should the increase continue there may be danger of financial disaster. As far as can be judged from the available statistics these figures do not include any amounts spent on the railways, and therefore for some years to come the Colonies will have an additional burden to bear in the form of interest and sinking funds for railway

[1] Approximate figures only. As the Blue Book reports for 1900 for the Gold Coast and Lagos are not yet published, the figures for 1899 have been repeated.

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construction. All the more needful is it that a revenue should soon be earned, in order that these important and costly works may become less burdensome to the Colonial Treasuries.

The expenditure for each of the Colonies separately is given below:—

LAGOS.

881 ...	£45,000	1886 ...	£55,000	1891 ...	£66,000	1896 ...	£168,000
1882 ...	44,000	1887 ...	79,000	1892 ...	87,000	1897 ...	183,000
1883 ...	38,000	1888 ...	61,000	1893 ...	101,000	1898 ...	204,000
1884 ...	45,000	1889 ...	57,000	1894 ...	125,000	1899 ...	223,000
1885 ...	40,000	1890 ...	64,000	1895 ...	144,000	1900 ...	[1] 223,000
	£212,000		£316,000		£523,000		£1,001,000
		Increase	£104,000	Increase	£207,000	Increase	£478,000

THE GOLD COAST.

1881 ...	£135,000	1886 ...	£133,000	1891 ...	£133,000	1896 ...	£282,000
1882 ...	117,000	1887 ...	139,000	1892 ...	158,000	1897 ...	[2] 255,000
1883 ...	99,000	1888 ...	133,000	1893 ...	179,000	1898 ...	[3] 257,000
1884 ...	113,000	1889 ...	125,000	1894 ...	227,000	1899 ...	310,000
1885 ...	113,000	1890 ...	118,000	1895 ...	265,000	1900 ...	[1] 310,000
	£577,000		£648,000		£962,000		£1,414,000
		Increase	£71,000	Increase	£314,000	Increase	£452,000

SIERRA LEONE.

1881 ...	£72,000	1886 ...	£63,000	1891 ...	£70,000	1896 ...	£115,000
1882 ...	63,000	1887 ...	58,000	1892 ...	84,000	1897 ...	112,000
1883 ...	77,000	1888 ...	63,000	1893 ...	85,000	1898 ...	121,000
1884 ...	85,000	1889 ...	64,000	1894 ...	93,000	1899 ...	145,000
1885 ...	71,000	1890 ...	63,000	1895 ...	97,000	1900 ...	156,000
	£368,000		£311,000		£429,000		£649,000
		Decrease	*£57,000*	Increase	£118,000	Increase	£220,000

GAMBIA.

1881 ...	£22,000	1886 ...	£23,000	1891 ...	£28,000	1896 ...	£25,000
1882 ...	20,000	1887 ...	24,000	1892 ...	29,000	1897 ...	27,000
1883 ...	24,000	1888 ...	21,000	1893 ...	38,000	1898 ...	29,000
1884 ...	29,000	1889 ...	22,000	1894 ...	32,000	1899 ...	30,000
1885 ...	27,000	1890 ...	23,000	1895 ...	29,000	1900 ...	30,000
	£122,000		£113,000		£156,000		£141,000
		Decrease	*£9,000*	Increase	£43,000	*Decrease*	*£15,000*

[1] Figures for 1899 repeated.
[2] Does not include £151,000 Ashanti Expedition.
[3] " " £121,000 " "

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In the case of Lagos and the Gold Coast the figures for 1899 have, for the purpose of comparison been repeated in 1900, the statistics for that year having not yet been published.

It may with justice be argued that most of this increase is due to the development of the interior and that it should be looked on as expenditure on capital account which will be justified by increased trade. No one can either prove or disprove this; for it is impossible to say whether the trade would have increased or not without this additional expenditure. Nor is it altogether easy to ascertain what has been the actual expansion of trade during the last twenty years. The imports are not an altogether satisfactory basis, for they include arms and ammunition, government stores, food supplies for Europeans both officials and merchants (much of which has to be imported), and possibly in latter years large amounts of railway material. The exports on the other hand consist almost entirely of native produce destined for European markets, and as there are practically no native manufactures, the figures relating to them may fairly represent the actual purchasing power of our West African Colonies and the best guide we can have to their prosperity. The total exports for the four Colonies are as follows :—

TOTAL EXPORTS (including Bullion and Specie) FROM GAMBIA, SIERRA LEONE, THE GOLD COAST AND LAGOS IN ROUND FIGURES.

1881	...£1,340,000	1886	...£1,350,000	1891	...£2,060,000	1896	...£2,333,000
1882	... 1,596,000	1887	... 1,284,000	1892	... 1,835,000	1897	... 2,235,000
1883	... 1,609,000	1888	... 1,350,000	1893	... 2,162,000	1898	... 2,414,000
1884	... 1,716,000	1889	... 1,361,000	1894	... 2,248,000	1899	... 2,606,000
1885	... 1,557,000	1890	... 1,710,000	1895	... 2,410,000	1900	... [1] 2,630,000
	£7,818,000		£7,055,000		£10,715,000		£12,218,000
			Decrease £763,000		Increase £3,660,000		Increase £1,503,000

It will be noticed at once that during the period ending 1890 there was a serious decrease as compared with 1885, but probably this was almost entirely due to the serious fall in European prices of African produce. The low water mark was reached in 1887, the exports having fallen off from £1,716,000 in 1884 to £1,284,000, but in 1890 the figures of 1884 were again reached and in 1891 the total amount was £2,060,000.

[1] Approximate figures.

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Since that date with minor fluctuations it has increased to £2,630,000 in 1900, although it is doubtful whether the total in that year is so large, since the figures for the Gold Coast and Lagos are estimated as being the same as in 1899. In all probability they were very much less.

For those who care to pursue the matter in detail the statistics are given below of each of the colonies separately :—

LAGOS (Exports).

1881 ... £460,000	1886 ... £539,000	1891 ... £718,000	1896 ... £975,000
1882 ... 581,000	1887 ... 491,000	1892 ... 577,000	1897 ... 811,000
1883 ... 594,000	1888 ... 508,000	1893 ... 836,000	1898 ... 882,000
1884 ... 672,000	1889 ... 458,000	1894 ... 822,000	1899 ... 916,000
1885 ... 614,000	1890 ... 595,000	1895 ... 986,000	1900 ... [1] 916,000
£2,921,000	£2,591,000	£3,939,000	£4,500,000
	Decrease £330,000	Increase £1,348,000	Increase £561,000

GOLD COAST (Exports).

1881 ... £373,000	1886 ... £407,000	1891 ... £684,000	1896 ... £792,000
1882 ... 340,000	1887 ... 372,000	1892 ... 665,000	1897 ... 858,000
1883 ... 364,000	1888 ... 382,000	1893 ... 722,000	1898 ... 993,000
1884 ... 467,000	1889 ... 416,000	1894 ... 850,000	1899 ... 1,112,000
1885 ... 496,000	1890 ... 601,000	1895 ... 878,000	1900 [1] 1,112,000
£2,040,000	£2,178,000	£3,799,000	£4,867,000
	Increase £138,000	Increase £1,621,000	Increase £1,068,000

SIERRA LEONE (Exports).

1881 ... £366,000	1886 ... £325,000	1891 ... £478,000	1896 ... £449,000
1882 ... 420,000	1887 ... 334,000	1892 ... 420,000	1897 ... 401,000
1883 ... 442,000	1888 ... 339,000	1893 ... 399,000	1898 ... 291,000
1884 ... 377,000	1889 ... 320,000	1894 ... 427,000	1899 ... 336,000
1885 ... 327,000	1890 ... 349,000	1895 ... 453,000	1900 ... 363,000
£1,932,000	£1,667,000	£2,177,000	£1,840,000
	Decrease £256,000	Increase £510,000	*Decrease £337,000*

GAMBIA (Exports).

1881 ... £140,000	1886 ... £80,000	1891 ... £180,000	1896 ... £117,000
1882 ... 255,000	1887 ... 87,000	1892 ... 172,000	1897 ... 166,000
1883 ... 208,000	1888 ... 118,000	1893 ... 205,000	1898 ... 248,000
1884 ... 199,000	1889 ... 168,000	1894 ... 149,000	1899 ... 242,000
1885 ... 119,000	1890 ... 164,000	1895 ... 94,000	1900 ... 241,000
£921,000	£617,000	£800,000	£1,014,000
	Decrease £304,000	Increase £183,000	Increase £214,000

[1] Figures for 1899 repeated.

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A special knowledge of the local circumstances in each of these colonies is necessary in order to form a just conclusion as to the meaning of these figures. The Sierra Leone Exports during recent years are, as pointed out before, possibly misleading. The increase in the exports from the Gold Coast is due principally to the Rubber Trade and not to increased production of Gold. Curiously enough in 1899 (the last published figures) the exports of Gold amounted to £51,300 against £103,200 in 1889. One wonders what these numerous gold mining companies are doing. Possibly the increase of the Rubber Trade may be due to the development of the interior, thereby justifying the increase in expenditure, but on the other hand in Lagos we find that the exports of rubber which in 1896 were valued at £347,720 had fallen off to £160,315 in 1899. Looking at the total figures from a broad point of view one can hardly feel convinced that this large increase in expenditure has as yet produced such a growth of trade as might reasonably have been expected. This conclusion is supported by the following table showing the proportion of expenditure to the value of the exports in each of the last twenty years :—

	Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.
1881.....	20·0	1886.....	20·4	1891.....	14·4	1896.....	25·3
1882.....	15·2	1887.....	23·3	1892.....	18·9	1897.....	23·5
1883.....	14·2	1888.....	20·7	1893.....	18.5	1898.....	25·3
1884.....	15·9	1889.....	18·9	1894.....	21·2	1899.....	27·2
1885.....	16·1	1890.....	15·4	1895.....	22·2	1900.....	27·3
	16·2		19·7		19·3		26·1

These figures are surprising. One would have naturally expected that as the trade increased the proportion of the expenditure would have decreased. From 1883 to 1887 the proportion rose from 14 per cent. to 23 per cent. owing to the falling off in the value of the exports alluded to before, and not to an increase in expenditure. This proportion, however, was reduced during the succeeding years until 1891, when the expenditure amounted to only 14 per cent. of the Exports. From that date however the expenditure has advanced by leaps and bounds and in 1900 amounted to 28 per cent. of the Exports. In other words the expenditure has increased more

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rapidly than the trade and this is shown perhaps more clearly by referring back to the previous tables from which it will be seen that the exports during the five years ending 1900 increased by £1,503,000 or 14 per cent., whereas during the same period the expenditure increased by £1,016,000 or 49 per cent.

There is another aspect of the question which is of great interest to the manufacturers and workpeople of the United Kingdom. There are at present (excluding the gold mines) no manufactures of any consequence carried on in West Africa. The Trade is essentially a barter trade and the revenues were until the last year or two almost entirely raised by means of import duties, which are now much larger than they were some years ago. The import duties, or in other words the expenditure, must enter into the calculations the merchant has to make in reckoning the amount of European goods he can give in exchange for native produce. If import duties were increased to-morrow from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. it is self evident that a merchant could only give £83 worth instead of £90 worth of European goods for £100 worth of African produce.

In fact every increase of expenditure must ultimately mean a similar reduction in the value of goods imported. To revert once again to the tables we find that for the five years ending 1900 the exports amounted to £12,218,000 and the expenditure to £3,185,000 leaving a balance available for European goods of £9,033,000. If however the expenditure had been on the basis of former years, say 18 per cent., it would have amounted to £2,119,000, so that we could have given over £1,000,000 worth additional European goods in exchange for the same amount of produce. In other words the heavier the expenditure the higher price must the merchant ask for his European goods; or the less is he able to give for native produce. This must have the double effect of reducing the demand for manufactures and diminishing the energy of the natives in gathering produce.

There is another possibility which should not be lost sight of. Our colonies are hemmed in by our French and German neighbours. If in consequence of increased expenditure and the resulting heavier taxes we are unable to offer the natives

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as large a quantity of manufactures and as good a price as our competitors are enabled to do, produce which is grown on the borders of our colonies may be diverted to foreign territory with a consequent loss of trade to this country.

The foregoing arguments are put forward in the hope that this most important question may be fully inquired into, and it seems to the writer that if the African Society can either allay the fears expressed above, or open our eyes to the dangers of the situation, they will be doing invaluable service to our West African Colonies and to the Mercantile Community of this country.

J. ARTHUR HUTTON.

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BRITISH NIGERIA

To such an extent did events in South Africa hold the attention of the British Public on the 1st January, 1900, that it is doubtful if any but those specially interested in the Niger Regions ever realized that, on that date, the final stroke of the pen brought under direct Imperial administration a tract of country in West Africa covering an area of something like 400,000 square miles. Yet this is what happened on the revocation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company, and the birth of the British protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria.

The story of the Niger is one of great interest, and, as an instance of what trade can effect in the matter of empire-building, is probably without precedent. The common theory that "trade follows the flag" hardly holds good with regard to the Niger, for that the Union Jack now floats over the greater part of these vast territories is due almost entirely to the efforts of traders and trading companies, though it is only fair to add that the British Government has usually backed up the traders whenever necessary. A glamour of romance attaches itself to the discovery of the Niger River, which a little more than a century ago presented a problem as difficult to solve as any that ever troubled the geographers. Theorists there were in plenty, but when Mungo Park started on his first expedition from Gambia in 1796 there was no one able even to guess the exact whereabouts of Ptolemy's *Nigeir*, in which direction it flowed, or where it entered the sea. With this early history, however, space forbids me to deal here, though the accounts of the experiences of such intrepid explorers as Park, Oudney, Denham, Clapperton, Lander, Beecroft, Baikie, Barth and others well repay a careful perusal. I am writing only of

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more modern matters, and particularly of British Nigeria as it is to-day.

Of the two new British protectorates, that known as Southern Nigeria has been the resort of European traders for two centuries or more, for when the oversea slave trade was at its height there were no more favourable points on the West Coast for the shipment of slaves than the mouths of the so-called Oil Rivers. With the suppression of this nefarious traffic came legitimate commerce, and palm oil (the staple commodity of the country) took the place of the unfortunate human beings. Trading in palm oil alone, however, did not appeal to the majority of European shipowners, and the trade of the rivers gradually fell into the hands of the British. So it came about that, in the course of time, a Consul was appointed to look after British interests; the chiefs grew to respect the Consul and to appeal to him when in difficulties; until they practically acknowledged that British power was paramount in the Rivers. Yet, prior to 1884, when the great "scramble for Africa" commenced, the British Government took no steps to secure its position on this part of the Coast, but in 1885, as the result of an agreement with Germany, a notification appeared in the "London Gazette" to the effect that a British Protectorate had been established over the Niger Districts from Lagos on the coast to the mouth of the Rio del Rey, and inland as far north as Lokoja on the Niger and Ibi on the Benué. Friendly treaties were now made with all the chiefs, and a complete understanding being arrived at, in 1891 was formally inaugurated the Oil Rivers Protectorate. A Consul-General (Major, afterwards Sir Claude, MacDonald) was appointed and given wide powers; headquarters were established at Old Calabar, and a Vice-Consul (with a complete staff of officials) was placed in charge of the five other principal rivers, viz.:—Opobo, Bonny, Brass, Forcados, and Benin. The Protectorate—a little later re-named the Niger Coast Protectorate—was in every sense a great success, and so carefully was it worked that in a very short time the revenue not only covered the expenditure, but even paid off the whole of the initial outlay on the establishment of the Protectorate, and had a handsome balance in hand (about £70,000) when it again changed its name on the 1st January, 1900.

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This prosperity of the Southern Protectorate was, no doubt, in a great measure due to the length of time that the country had been open to British trade before Sir Claude MacDonald's administration commenced. With the inland parts of the Niger District matters were entirely different. The country watered by the Middle Niger and Benué rivers is even now a new land, and when the Protectorate was declared in 1885 the trade of the greater part of it had been barely touched. Fifty years ago there was not a single store-shed north of the Niger Delta; to-day the banks of the main river and its branches, to a distance of nine hundred miles from the sea, are dotted with British trading stations. Until 1857 little or nothing was known of the capabilities of the country, for though, after Lander had discovered the course and outlet of the Niger, the Government sent periodical expeditions to establish friendly relations with the natives, their results were, as a rule, such as to deter rather than to induce fresh enterprises. The climate was described as the most deadly in the world, and public opinion in England was, for the time being, opposed to any further expenditure of money on opening up the Niger. In 1857, however, Mr. Macgregor Laird, a Liverpool merchant and shipowner, commenced trading operations on the river, and by building store-sheds on the banks and stocking them with goods, laid the foundations of Niger trade, though his death in 1860 unfortunately checked for a while the good work that he had begun. For some few years after this, little progress was made; single steamers ascended the river for a short distance each year, bartered their goods and returned home again, but in reality they did more harm than good to the country. Then, in 1865, Liverpool firms and companies turned their attentions to the Niger, only failing to be completely successful by the manner in which they cut each other's throats. Such was the state of affairs when, in 1877, Mr. Goldie Taubman, an officer of the Royal Engineers, visited the country with the intention of travelling through the region between the Niger and the Upper Nile, and he it was who first grasped the situation. He was firmly convinced that there was a great future before this part of the world, and that it required only a little enterprise on the part of Great Britain to reap the reward of her labours of the past half-century. No other Europeans had yet set foot in the

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land; the lives and money already expended on the exploration and exploitation of the Niger countries had been solely British; and all that was wanted now was for those interested in Niger trade to pull together. To Mr. Goldie Taubman (afterwards Sir George Goldie), therefore, was mainly due the amalgamation in 1879 of the firms engaged in this trade. The new venture was at first called the United African Company, then, after a little while, the National African Company, and subsequently the Royal Niger Company.

Earnest work now commenced and the trade of the Niger was developed with phenomenal rapidity, but it was not long before the French made their first attempt (by establishing two State-aided trading companies on the banks of the Lower Niger) to oust us from the river. At this time the country was free to all comers, and though so far the National African Company had had the monopoly of trade, it was nothing more than a trading concern, and had no powers of administration. To acquire these it was necessary to obtain a Royal Charter, but this the Government refused, principally for the reasons that the capital of the Company was not large enough, and that there were foreign firms engaged in Niger trade. The first difficulty was overcome by the capital of the Company being raised to £1,000,000, and the second difficulty by the National African Company buying out the competing firms altogether. Treaties were made with every possible chief in the country, who agreed, for an annual subsidy, to trade with no-one but the National African Company, and in many instances to concede to the Company "sovereign rights." The proclamation of a British Protectorate over the Niger District in 1885, to which I referred above, of course strengthened the position of the Company considerably, and in July 1886 it received its Royal Charter, then adopting the name by which for the next fourteen years it was known, viz.:—the Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited.

I hold no brief for the Company, neither do I desire to in any way exaggerate the record of its career. Throughout its existence as a Chartered Company it ever had enemies—not only in France and Germany, but also in England—whose *chagrin* at having been forestalled in Niger trade impelled them

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to attack the Company's methods on every possible occasion. It is enough for unbiassed Englishmen to review the results. The Royal Niger Company, whether its methods were good or bad, fought a good fight, and ultimately secured for Great Britain a tract of country covering almost twice the area of the mother country, and one likely to prove the most remunerative of all Tropical Africa. On the petty trade jealousies of rival British firms I do not propose to enter, and the troubles with the French and Germans are far too intricate to be set forth here. Suffice it to say that when the time came for the Company to surrender its charter, it was able to give a good account of its stewardship, and history, if written impartially, will record the yeoman service that it performed.

Enough has, perhaps, been said to give the reader an idea as to how matters stood when the new administration started on the 1st January, 1900, but it is necessary to mention that, by various agreements with France and Germany, terminating with the final convention signed at Paris in 1898, the British Protectorate over these regions had been extended, until at the present time the boundaries of British Nigeria are as follows:—On the south, the Atlantic. On the east, the German Cameroons, the actual boundary line running from the so-called Rio del Rey to the Rapids on the Cross River, thence straight to a point about thirty miles east of Yola, on the Benué River, thence to the point where the 13th degree of longitude East of Greenwich is intersected by the 10th degree of north latitude, and finally thence to a point on the southern shores of Lake Chad situated 35 minutes east of the meridian of the centre of the town of Kuka. On the west the British colony of Lagos, and north of that colony the French colony of Dahomey, the frontier line running along the Ocpara River as far as the 9th degree of north latitude, thence in a somewhat tortuous manner passing north until it strikes the right bank of the Niger at a point about ten miles up stream from the centre of the town of Gere (the port of Ilo) measured as the crow flies. On the north the frontier line between British Nigeria and the French possessions starts from the last-mentioned point on the Niger, and passes up the centre of the river for about seventeen miles; then it crosses to the left bank, and proceeds up the centre of the dry

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watercourse known as the Dallul Mauri until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn with a radius of 100 miles from the centre of the town of Sokoto. It thence runs along the northern arc of this circle until it meets the 14th parallel of north latitude, which it follows for seventy miles; then drops due south to 13° 20′ north latitude, then due east for 250 miles, then due north again to the 14th parallel. It now runs due east until a point is reached where the 14th parallel intersects the meridian passing 35 minutes east of the centre of the town of Kuka, and from that point it drops due south to the southern shore of Lake Chad.

The boundary lines on the west and north thus described were arrived at only after lengthy negotiations between Great Britain and France, the situation on the north-west frontier of Nigeria being, for several months in 1897–1898, most difficult. French and British troops occupied the disputed territory in all directions, and even at times the same towns. That there was no open rupture on the spot, while the negotiations were in progress in Paris, speaks well for the discipline which the officers of both nations were able to enforce.

So far I have dealt with British Nigeria as a whole; I now propose describing in such detail as this short article will allow the sub-divisions of British Nigeria, *i.e.* the Protectorates of Southern Nigeria and Northern Nigeria, the boundary between which has been temporarily fixed as running from Owo on the west, through Idah on the Lower Niger, to Takum on the Cameroons frontier—for all intents and purposes along the 7th parallel of north latitude.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA

Southern Nigeria is administered by a High Commissioner, four Divisional Commissioners, three Travelling District Commissioners, and nine District Commissioners, with a Chief Justice, Puisne Judge, Attorney General, and other officials. The headquarters are still, as in former times, at Old Calabar, and the Protectorate is divided into four main districts, or divisions, known as the Western, Central, Eastern, and Cross

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River; while on each of the principal rivers is established a Commissioner's Court. Native Councils and Courts of Justice have of recent years been added to each district, and have been found to be of immense assistance to the European courts. There still remain, however, considerable tracts of country which have not come under civilizing influences, and it must be many years before the advantages of British rule are realized by the more remote tribes.

The more important towns of the Protectorate are, from east to west, *Old Calabar*, a picturesque and sanitary town, situated about forty miles from the sea, in the Old Calabar estuary; *Opobo*, at the mouth of the river of the same name, whose notorious chief Ja Ja will be remembered for his constant quarrels with his neighbour Oko Jumbo, of Bonny; *Bonny*, at one time the most important of the Oil Rivers towns, and one of the earliest Mission Stations; *Degama*, on the New Calabar River; *Brass*, an old trading port, which came much before the public in 1895, when its native inhabitants rose, and attacked the Niger Company's factories at Akassa, massacring the native employees, and afterwards eating them; *Akassa*, at the mouth of the Nun branch of the Niger, for many years the principal port of the Royal Niger Company; *Abo*, *Asaba*, and *Idah*, on the Lower Niger—all important native towns; *Forcados*, a comparatively new place, at the mouth of what has become the principal entrance to the Niger; *Warri*, about forty miles up stream from Forcados, and an important depôt for trade with the Sobos and Jakris; *Benin*, whose people massacred the British Mission in 1897; and *Nana's Town*, named after its chief, against whom a British expedition operated in 1894. None of these towns are of any great size, though, as being the headquarters of native tribes, they are trade centres, and have a small European population.

The natives of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria are perhaps the most uncivilized people of Africa. Except for the few converts to Christianity in the neighbourhood of the Mission Stations, they are one and all pagans, and when dwelling beyond the immediate control of the British authorities, addicted to the most inhuman practices. Cannibalism, human sacrifices, the destruction of twins, and such-like barbarous customs, are still

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indulged in by the remote tribes, and the type of native everywhere is of the lowest order. The tribes are innumerable, and many distinct languages are spoken, but since they have never been studied by ethnological experts, it is impossible to classify them otherwise than according to the localities in which they dwell and the languages which they speak. In the neighbourhood of Benin the people are known as Binis; eastward come the Sobos; and between the latter and the sea, the great Jakri tribe. On the Lower Niger and in its neighbourhood are the Idzos or Ijos, and the Ibos, each powerful and with many tribal offshoots. Eastward, between Opobo and Old Calabar, the people belong mostly to the Kwa tribes; round Old Calabar itself they are Efiks; while on the Upper Cross River there are several tribes whose language shows traces of a connection with Bantu. They are one and all pure negroes, and they live in families, so many families making up a community or village, and so many villages forming a tribe. Their huts vary in structure according to the locality; circular, or rectangular; with walls of mud, or of wicker-work; thatched with grass, rushes, or large leaves. Living as they all do in the immediate neighbourhood of water, the people are expert canoemen, and use the rivers and streams as the sole means of getting about. They are keen traders, and since the country produces abundance of palm oil, rubber, and other valuable commodities, it requires only the civilizing influences of British rule to make it perhaps the most prosperous part of the West Coast of Africa.

The Protectorate maintains a thoroughly well-equipped and reliable force of Constabulary, viz.:—the 3rd Niger Battalion, West African Frontier Force, consisting of 30 British officers and 1,000 West Africans, besides artillery (chiefly 7-pr. guns). These troops have proved their fighting qualities on more than one occasion, and are even now engaged in the pacification of the Aro country, hoping to abolish for ever the great power of fetishism known as "Long Ju-ju."

In order to show what may be expected of this Protectorate in the future, I will quote a few figures explanatory of the general state of trade and the financial condition of the Niger Coast Protectorate when it became the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria:—

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NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE, 1895–1900.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total Trade.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
	£	£	£	£	£
1895–6	750,975	844,333	1,595,308	155,513	145,044
1896–7	655,978	785,605	1,441,583	122,441	128,411
1897–8	639,698	750,223	1,389,921	153,181	121,901
1898–9	732,640	774,648	1,507,288	169,568	146,752
1899–1900	725,798	888,955	1,614,753	164,108	176,140

NORTHERN NIGERIA

Although the Southern protectorate cannot fail to prosper and to be of the greatest value to British trade, it is to the Northern protectorate that we must look for vast developments, new markets, and new products. The wealth of the land has not as yet been unlocked, but its possibilities are undeniable. Northern Nigeria may prove an Eldorado; at the worst it cannot yield less than it did to the Royal Niger Company—a steady dividend of six per cent. per annum, after defraying the cost of administration. For some little time, however, we must be content with scanty information as to such matters as revenue and expenditure, for it must be remembered that the Protectorate is in its infancy, and has considerable political work to get through, before the natives are made to realize the benefits that are likely to accrue from British rule. The officials to whom this new administration has been entrusted are a High Commissioner, a Deputy-High-Commissioner, a First-class Resident, six Residents, Secretary to the Administration, Treasurer, Chief Justice, and others. The present seat of government is at Lokoja (at the Confluence of the Middle Niger, Lower Niger, and Benué); the headquarters of the troops are on the island of Jebba, some distance up the Middle Niger, though they will shortly be moved to a better situation on the banks of the river; the Benué districts are administered from Ibi; while the remainder of the Protectorate has still to be mapped out into Administrative districts. Everything is so entirely different from that which prevails in the Southern protectorate that methods which apply to the latter cannot be applied to Northern Nigeria, where, for

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instance, in place of a population of barbarous pagans inhabiting fœtid swamps, the majority of the people are semi-civilized Mahomedans dwelling in a comparatively healthy land—in places mountainous and even salubrious. But let me say something of the country and the people.

In ascending the Lower Niger, almost immediately after passing Idah (the frontier town) one is struck by the change in the scenery; the country below this point is flat and uninteresting, with ever-present mangrove swamps and countless streams; now, however, low round hills covered with massive boulders appear in all directions, and as the Confluence is approached, the flat-topped hill of Lokoja stands out some 1200 feet above the river. Above the Confluence, both on the Middle Niger to the west, and on the Benué River to the east, the country improves in appearance the further up-stream one goes; while, to the north of these two rivers, in what by some is called Hausaland, by others the Western Sudan, is a land, in parts rising to considerable heights, and possessing a soil capable of yielding enormous crops. Again to the south of the Middle Niger, in the Ilorin (Yoruba) country, as well as in Adamawa, in the far east of the Protectorate, is a similar state of affairs. One thing only has checked the development of these rich regions—native misrule; for the country has, for the last hundred years, been groaning under the yoke of the proselytizing hordes of Mahomedan Fulahs, who have raided and enslaved the unfortunate pagan tribes almost to annihilation. How this Mahomedan power grew up; how Othman dan Fodio, the Reformer, preached his *jehad*, and waged war on all infidels; how kingdom after kingdom fell before him; and how the Fulah Empire thus founded swallowed up the old Hausa States and many outlying provinces, make up a story of engrossing interest, but too lengthy to be told now. I can only say that the story is practically finished; it may drag on for a few years, but the Fulah dynasty has already commenced to totter, and needs but a few more crushing blows, such as those dealt in recent years by the British troops at Bida, Ilorin, and Yola, to bring it finally to the ground.

Up to the present time direct Imperial control has not advanced to any great distance inland from the main rivers, and

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the chief matter in hand is the suppression of slave-raiding—the curse of the country. Whether the Fulahs will abandon this lucrative employment, settle down peacefully to agricultural pursuits, and take an interest in the well-being of their country, or whether they will resist British intrusion to the bitter end, remains to be seen. Personally, I am of opinion that, eventually, and when they get a better understanding of our methods, their greed for gain will induce them to follow in the footsteps of some of the old "fighting castes" of India, and become peaceful citizens and loyal subjects of the Great White King.

The kingdoms, or provinces, to which I have referred as being under Fulah domination and owing allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto, may be briefly summed up as follows:—Adamawa, Muri, Bautshi, Kano, Katzena, Kwontagora, Gober, Katzori, Kebbi, Zanfara, Daura, Bakundi, Zaria, Nassarawa, Nupé, Yoruba (Ilorin), and Lafia, the last three being nominally tributary to Gando as well as to Sokoto. Over all these provinces the Sultan of Sokoto claims jurisdiction, and by his treaty with Great Britain is responsible for the good-conduct of his subjects. Most of the Emirs, or rulers of these provinces, have, however, as a matter of fact, complete independence of government, and restrict their allegiance to the Lord of the Faithful to the payment of annual tribute; while the Sultan has no real means of asserting his authority, though he makes an attempt at keeping his vassals in check by appointing a travelling inspector to each group of provinces. Were the Sultan something more than a figure-head in the Fulah Empire, the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria would have an easy task before him. As it is, each Emir has to be dealt with separately, which is a big undertaking when it is considered that the outlying provinces on the east and west are situated some eight hundred miles or so apart. It is hardly probable that we shall ever take over the complete administration of all these provinces, but Residents at the principal capitals, with a staff of travelling commissioners, will no doubt be ultimately established throughout the country. The native methods of administration are far from being radically unsound; each State has a well-organized form of government; but the officials are corrupt, and slave-raiding the pagans is regarded as the right of every Fulah.

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In addition to the Fulah Empire, Northern Nigeria contains two other kingdoms of importance, viz. :—Borgu, on the extreme west, and Bornu, on the extreme north-east. The former is wholly pagan, and has fought manfully for a century against the Fulahs; the latter is a Mahomedan State, whose history can be traced back for a thousand years or more, and whose people embraced Islam centuries before the Fulahs were ever heard of With Borgu matters have been successfully arranged, and with Bornu there seemed to be, until quite recently, every prospect of a satisfactory understanding. Now, however, as I write, has come the news (at present unconfirmed) that the French have attacked and killed, within the British sphere, Fadl Ullah, the ruler of Bornu, who was on the point of placing himself and his country under British protection. What the outcome of this unfortunate incident will be, it is impossible to say. The rest of the Northern Protectorate contains here and there small independent pagan tribes—at one time powerful, but now so reduced by constant raiding as to be incapable of offering any great resistance. Of these the better known are the Kukurukus, Igbiras, Ogidis, Owurus, Bunus, and Yagbas, inhabiting the country lying in the angle formed by the Middle and Lower Niger; and the Igbiras, Basas, Akpotos, Aragos, Mitshis, and Jukos of the Benué regions. In the Fulah provinces, also, there are still to be found many pagans, either slaves of Mahomedans, or for some reason or other useful to them.

The towns of Northern Nigeria are in many instances of considerable size, and surrounded with such defences as high and thick mud walls; while the huts are usually circular beehive shaped structures, well shaded with magnificent baobab and other trees. Such of the towns as have retained their importance are usually situated on one or other of the main trade routes, for, in spite of the raiding propensities of the ruling Fulahs, the Hausas (who were in possession of the most valuable part of the country when the Fulah crusade commenced) are keen traders. They are mostly Mahomedans, and, besides their love of trade they are agriculturists, weavers, dyers, workers in metals and in leather, etc., though perhaps they are better known to the world as furnishing recruits for the British forces throughout West Africa. Of the towns may be mentioned *Ilorin* (the capital of

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Yoruba), picturesque and covering a great extent of ground; *Bida* (the capital of Nupé), with an estimated population of 15,000; *Egga*, *Rabba*, and *Boussa*, all on the Middle Niger, and of some commercial importance; *Sokoto*, the old capital of the Empire; *Wurno*, the new capital; *Gando*, at one time the capital of a separate Empire; *Kano*, the "Metropolis of the Western Sudan"; *Zaria*, *Bautshi*, *Muri*, *Bakundi*, and *Nassarawa*, capitals of provinces of the same name; *Yola* (Adamawa), recently attacked and occupied by a British force; and *Kuka*, on Lake Chad, the chief town of the Bornu Kingdom. The population of these towns can only be roughly guessed; Kano is said to contain 70,000 inhabitants, Bautshi the same; Zaria, 30,000; while the others range between 6,000 and 20,000.

A land that is capable of maintaining such congested urban populations, and that has never known a famine or the necessity of obtaining food-stuffs from outside, must undoubtedly be extremely fertile. What it can produce for export purposes is as yet hardly known, though such things as rubber, shea-butter kola nuts, gums, fibres, oil seeds, and spices have for some years been sold to the Niger Company; leather (the Morocco leather of commerce) is transported wholesale across the Sahara to the Mediterranean; and ivory is still offered for sale in large quantities. Iron is sufficiently abundant to supply the needs of the people in the matter of weapons and agricultural implements; tin and galena have been found in the Benué districts; and, though gold may not be forthcoming, there are products enough to satisfy the traders for many years to come. Moreover, the people of all parts of Northern Nigeria (with the exception of the decaying Fulahs) have real commercial instincts, and only await the establishment of the *Pax Britannica* to start business in earnest.

Many problems confront the new administration, and all must be solved before the wealth of the country can be brought to light. The slave-raiding Fulahs must go the way of the Thugs and Dacoits of India; the legal *status* of slavery be abolished; roads be constructed inland from the great waterways; and the hitherto-oppressed natives made to feel that the land is their own, and that, as subjects of Great Britain, law-abiding pagans

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and Mahomedans will have equal rights and equal prospects. These are the main problems of the immediate future, but there are a hundred and one minor ones, connected with currency, transport, and other things, which cannot be gone into in these early days. Whether the force at the present High Commissioner's disposal is strong enough is a matter of opinion; with a larger force the work might be got through more quickly, but on the other hand it is doubtful if slow and sure progress is not, under the circumstances, the wiser policy.

The actual fighting strength of the native (British) troops available for all purposes in Northern Nigeria is about 100 British officers and 2,500 men (Hausas, Yorubas, and a few natives of other tribes). These comprise the Northern Nigeria Regiment, West African Frontier Force, consisting of three batteries of artillery, two battalions of infantry, and detachments of sappers, mounted infantry, etc., and though not a very large force for the size of the country, this deficiency is made up for by superiority in arms, in training, and in discipline. A much smaller body of men, similarly armed and trained, defeated, in the Bida and Ilorin campaigns, Fulah armies fifty times its strength; while, last autumn, the Frontier Force 1,000 strong assaulted and captured Yola, the Fulah headquarters on the Benué, held by vastly superior numbers and armed to a certain extent with modern guns and rifles supplied to them some years ago by a notorious French adventurer. At present the mobility of the force is a great factor in its success, for the Protectorate possesses a large flotilla of river steamers, and the great waterways are navigable for several months of the year.

In concluding this brief sketch of British Nigeria, which I have written in the hope of creating a measure of interest in a little-known corner of the British Empire, I must acknowledge that I feel that my enthusiasm for this far-off land will hardly be shared by those who have never visited it. I am, however, quite confident that the nation will not for a moment have cause to regret the step taken by the Government, on the 1st January 1900, when it established the two Protectorates and added to the Empire the slice of West Africa to be known to future generations as British Nigeria.

A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN.

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OPHIR AND PUNT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ABOUT 1000 B.C. King Solomon sent his celebrated expedition to the Goldland OPHIR.

About 2780 B.C. King Sanch-Kara; about 1500 B.C. Queen Hat-shepsut of Egypt sent expeditions over sea to a country called "Punt" or "Phoun."

King Solomon's people brought back to Jerusalem: Gold, Ivory, Ebony, precious Stones, Apes, and Guinea Fowls.

The freight of the Punt ships was: Gold, Ivory, Copper, Ebony, Frankincense, Gum, long-tailed Monkeys, Leopards and Leopard-skins, Giraffes, Cattle, and Natives of Punt.

We see the freight of the two expeditions is rather the same. This fact has led Brugsch Pascha, the famous Egyptologist, to suppose, that Ophir and Punt may have been the same country. Such a theory has in itself a certain amount of probability. Ophir as well as Punt was undoubtedly a mining district which produced, above all, Gold. It is more than reasonable to suppose that the most ancient nations of history got this precious metal from the same district. Moreover, the relations between Phoenicians and Egyptians were very intimate. King David and Solomon themselves owned Ebeon Gezer on the Gulf of Akaba, a port which opened into the Red Sea, therefore into the Egyptian sphere of interest. Can it appear strange that the Semitic nations followed the tracks southward which the ancient Egyptians had opened? Still I own that these facts do not constitute evidence. The question may be answered with a great amount of historical probability if we can prove the existence of an ancient gold-mining district in which relics of Phoenician as well as Egyptian influence can be shown.

I think I am in a position to bring such evidence. Questions of this sort nowadays can be answered by archaeological finds

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PHOENICIAN TOMBSTONE,
Found Manicaland, near Macequeçe.

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only, not any more by philological and etymological discussions such as the old scholars were accustomed to try. In order to point out where Ophir or Punt was situated I think it is no longer sufficient to enumerate certain general facts which may make a theory more or less likely. But we must demand that the existence of ancient gold-mines, and the presence of Phoenicians or Egyptians there, should be proved by ethnological evidence.

If this be true, the Indian as well as the Arabian Ophir theories may be set aside. For India has never been a gold exporting, but always a gold importing country, and nowhere in Eastern India have ancient Semitic gold-workings been found. No more is Arabia a gold producing country, and up to the present day no discoveries have been made in this country of extensive ancient gold-mines. Besides neither India nor Arabia could produce large quantities of ivory, which is the second great article of the Ophir and Punt voyages.

These negative facts lead the investigation from the North and East of the Indian Ocean to its western borders, to Africa. I have proved formerly that our name Africa is a Latin adjective form of the Hebrew Ophir, or the Sabaean Afur; therefore, in fact, that Africa was called in the ancient Semitic world Afur or Ophir. This I take it is one of the proofs that we must look for Solomon's Ophir somewhere in Africa. That Punt was an African country is absolutely proved by the one fact, that giraffes which exist nowhere but in Africa were among its animals.

Now, it can easily be proved that South Africa between Zambesi and Sabi corresponds in all respects to the Ophir of Solomon's age. First of all, we have here a field of extensive ancient gold-workings. Old workings can be traced on the Zambesi, in Eastern Mashonaland, in Manicaland, and on the Sabi and Lundi Rivers. We can further prove that the ancient race which did this mining was of Phoenician origin. The symbols of the Baal-Ashera worship, phallus and vulture, can be found over the whole district. It is known that King Solomon, like his allies King Huram of Tyrus and the Queen of Sheba, was not a worshipper of Jehovah but of Baal and Ashera.

Theodore Bent's researches in Simbabwe are well known. His finds prove that this temple belonged to the Baal circle. I myself

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have found relics of a Phoenician epoch on the Zambesi, in Inyanga and in Manicaland. Those relics are particularly grand in Inyanga. Whole Cyclopean cities up to 3 miles in diameter lie in ruins before you. The hills are covered with stone terraces, so that, seen from a distance, they resemble gigantic zebras. The tops of the hills are covered with ruined fortifications. It seems as if the ancient race had here made a last desperate stand against formidable enemies. Water furrows 4–5 miles long lead from the hills into the plains. Extremely interesting are certain round shafts up to 30 feet deep which can be often seen in Inyanga and also in Manicaland. Subterranean tunnels 15–20 feet long, 3–4 feet high lead into the shafts which were perhaps slave pits of ancient times.

All these facts prove that South Africa between Zambesi and Sabi was at one time an ancient gold district, densely populated, with all the indications of a long habitation by a Semitic race. All the goods of the Ophir expeditions could well come from this country, and if we find to-day the old name Ophir or Afur over and over again in the Negro-corruption of "Fura" or in the Alexandrinian form of Sofala (= Sa-Ofara), I think we can take it as proved that this part of South Africa was the goal of King Solomon's gold expeditions

So far—more or less—my conclusions went after my researches in these districts in the year 1899. My last expedition from 1900 to 1901 has placed me in a position to go a step further. I think I can now bring forward some evidence that we may also locate the old Egyptian country Punt in this direction.

In order to get a clear idea of this question we must first grasp firmly what the Egyptian documents themselves tell us about this country Punt or Phoun.

Mention of Punt is made as far back as 3600 B.C. when one Ba-ur-dedu brought a Deng or Dancer to King Assa from Punt. Again Punt is mentioned 3445 B.C. under King Mer-en-Ra and again in connection with tribute brought from there to Egypt. But our first real knowledge of Punt originates from the reign of Sankh-Ka-Ra (2832–2877 B.C.) when the first of the two expeditions mentioned above was sent to Punt. The description of this memorable enterprise is recorded on a rock in the valley of Hammamat. It informs us that General Henu marched

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through the desert from Koptos passing through the valley of Hammamat to the Red Sea, that he built vessels on the coast, went over sea to Punt and returned with rich tribute to Egypt.[1]

The inscription says nothing of the length of the expedition or the direction in which the voyage went. But it appears (according to Brugsch, "Geschichte Aegyptens," I, 112) that the port from which Henu started, then called Seba, was the Quosseir of to-day on the Red Sea.

More information on our question is furnished by the record of the Punt expedition under the Queen Hat-Shepsut (XVIII. dynasty B.C. 1516–1481) in the temple at Deir el Bahri. Professor Petrie gives the following description of this remarkable representation (II, p. 82):

"The head of the scene is on the right hand of the spectator. Their (God) Amen is seated. Next is the bark of Amen, borne by 24 priests and 2 high priests, before which Tahutmes III makes offering of incense. After a speech of the Queen offering all the products of the land of Punt to Amen, then appear Safekh and Tahuti the deities of writing and of numbers, registering all the offerings. Horus superintends the balance, where (gold) rings and bars of electrum are being weighed. Piles of green ana incense are being measured out. Following these are the trees, the cattle, the logs of ebony, the tusks of ivory, the boxes of electrum, the leopard skins, the panthers, the giraffe.

"Following this is a figure of the queen introducing the scenes of the expedition. Eight ships and a boat are embarking the produce of Punt, the trees transplanted in baskets, the sacks and bales and jars—all are being brought in peace to the fleet.

"Next is a scene of the meeting of the Egyptian troops and commander with Parohu, the chief of Punt, Aty, his wife, their two sons and daughter. Behind them is their town; the houses are built on piles and entered by ladders, while palms growing beside them overshadow them. The strange fatness of

[1] See Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, pp. 141–142. I follow in this essay the chronology of Professor Petrie, which disagrees essentially from the old chronology as maintained by scholars like Professor Brugsch-Bey and others.

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the queen has been much speculated upon; as her daughter shows much the same tendency of a curve in the back, it is probably the effect of extreme fat, which was considered a beauty as in South Africa at present."

Let me remark that the Egyptian representations are always remarkably accurate in such details, and, therefore it cannot be doubted that the much debated *fatness* of the Punt women must be taken as *typical* of that race. It is known to ethnologists that neither Arabs nor the Hamitic tribes of North East Africa have this characteristic deformity, but it is a speciality of the *Hottentot tribes of South Africa.* Also the houses built on piles to be ascended by ladders are typical of the Hottentots.

I give some additions to Professor Petrie's description from the book of Brugsch, which are important for the question that occupies us here.

It is not mentioned how long the voyage to Punt lasted. When the Egyptians arrived they pitched their tents on the beach. The villages were in the shade of cocoanut palms and beautiful incense trees, in the branches of which strange birds were swinging and under which great herds of cattle were grazing.

Scholars,—Profs. Petrie and Brugsch among them—are of opinion that the country thus described might have been Somaliland near Cape Guardafui. But I ask any traveller who, like me, knows the Somali coast whether this description corresponds in the least with the bare sunburnt sands of that country. If anything, a rich tropical vegetation is depicted by the Egyptian illustration.

Such does not exist along the North Eastern corner of Africa, but in the South, at the mouth of the Zambesi and Sabi Rivers. Like the fatness of the women, therefore, the representation of the landscape also draws our attention from the North to the South of Africa, and it is well in harmony with this theory that the Punt people express their great astonishment how it had happened that foreigners could have reached such a distant and unknown country. (Brugsch 283).

Now the list of the presents which the Chiefs of Punt brought consisted above all of "golden rings, ivory and frank incense"; among others 31 incense trees were replanted in baskets and

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taken back to Egypt. Copper also is mentioned among the gifts. I don't see how Somaliland could have supplied these goods. That Yemen or any other part of Arabia cannot have been meant is clear from the fact, that it has neither giraffes, nor ivory.

The opinion that the Punt or Pun or Phoun of the Egyptian expeditions was a country round the Gulf of Aden must, therefore, be dismissed.

Now Dr. Edward Glaser has proved that there existed before the Sabacan epoch a large Dominion of a Phoenician race which reached from Bab-el-Mandeb down along the whole coast of East Africa at least as far as Sofala. This country was called Poen-at or Punt by the ancient Egyptians. It was formed by the southern branch of the Phoenician race, which originally lived round the Persian Gulf. The northern branch are the Phoenicians and Carthagenians of ancient history who went with their trading and mining expeditions as far as Britain, nay the Baltic.

To Poenat or Punt belonged among other countries—Mashonaland, where we have located the Ophir of Solomon's age. Glaser proved this by the identity of the Mashonaland ruins with those of Socotora. The Socotora ruins have been built by a Pun tribe therefore also ancient Mashonaland must be claimed as a part of the same sphere of civilisation.

I think that this historical fact gives us a clue for solving the problem in question.

It is a mistake to think that the southern limit of the Egyptian sphere of civilisation was Bab-el-Mandeb. Even a scholar of the renown of Professor A. H. Keane draws the frontier of Egyptian enterprise far too narrow, when he pronounces that ancient Egyptians never went south of the equator. It is, on the contrary, more or less proved that they knew Madagascar. If this had not been the case at a very early period the Egyptian circumnavigation of Africa under King Necho B.C. 600 would appear simply marvellous. This historical fact recorded by Herodotus is a proof that ancient Egypt was at home in the southern part of the Indian Ocean long before.

But as I have said above I do not intend to deal with

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general deductions and theoretical speculations. I will, therefore, restrict myself to putting forward what facts I have found in South Africa apt to prove that the Egyptian Punt may be looked for in that part of the world.

Punt was a gold producing country.—I and others have found in South Africa between Zambesi and Sabi a series of ancient gold mines which show that there was a time when these districts were an Eldorado of mankind. Can the supporters of the Somaliland-Punt theory bring any similar evidence from the neighbourhood of Cape Guardafui or its Hinterland?

The Punt expeditions brought back copper.—Have ancient copper mines been discovered in Somaliland? On the upper Sabi in South Africa I have found this summer over a distance of about twenty miles a whole chain of such ancient copper mines which may well have furnished the copper of the Punt voyages.

All the other articles of the Punt expeditions can be found or grown in Zambesia; and there is nothing strange in the theory that frankincense and gums were, in ancient times, when there was a higher state of civilisation, cultivated to a larger extent than nowadays. Giraffes are purely African beasts and, therefore, eliminate Arabia and India from the discussion about the location of Punt.

The natives of South Africa were in the ancient times *Hottentots and Bushmen.* These tribes, contrary to all other Negro races around, have in their language a relationship to the language of the ancient Egyptians. They have, for instance, the three genders, quite unusual in African languages.

The Hottentots also in their physique resemble the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley. Their colour is a mixture between brown and grey. They show very markedly the fat protrusion of the back part of their body characteristic of the inhabitants of Punt in the Egyptian representations. Their religion again, in opposition to other Negro tribes, has the worship of the moon for its centre, as in ancient Egypt (Isis). They worship also a green beetle, just as the ancient Egyptians had the skarabæus cult. For the tracing of a newly discovered Bushmen painting from South Africa which I here reproduce I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Fairbridge at Umtali.

A scholar of Egyptian art will find in the position of the

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figures in the tracing a remarkable likeness to the typical Egyptian hieroglyphic representation. I take these tracings from style and colour as evidence of an ancient Egyptian influence in South Africa. These oldest tribes, Hottentots and Bushmen, who are now dwelling in the south-western portion of the Continent only, lived at one time, as their paintings found in Mashonaland and Portuguese East Africa prove, over the whole of South Africa. The Egyptians themselves maintained that they had in very ancient times immigrated from Punt into Egypt, where, mixed with Semitic races, they formed the historical Egyptians. If we take the Hottentots as inhabitants of Punt the likeness between them and the Egyptians would be explained.

Anyhow, as our rock painting shows traces of Egyptian art, it must be taken as evidence for a prehistoric Egyptian period in South Africa, and if ethnologists agree with me that the riddle of the Hottentot race can be solved by connecting them anthropologically with the ancient Egyptians, this is a more direct evidence towards the same conclusion.

Bye-the-bye I may mention that Livingstone was already struck by finding among the natives on the Rovuma river tattooings of a decidedly Egyptian character. I have repeatedly found along the Zambesi remarkable likenesses to figures familiar to us from ancient Egyptian paintings.

Now I owe to the chief of the Umtali Police, Mr. Birch, a further important evidence in the same direction which is reproduced herewith. It is the Ushabté-(responder-) figure of King Tahutmes III. found by natives 17° south, 32–33° east, south of the Zambesi. Professor Flinders Petrie to whom I showed this find gave his opinion to the following effect:—

"Upper part of an Ushabté figure of pottery impressed in a mould.

"On the head is an elaborate wig, in each hand a scourge instead of a hoe. On the chest is the cartouche of Tahutmes III. (about 1450 B.C.).

"Three lines of inscription remain below, so much effaced that only the title Osiris can be seen; but there is no trace of a cartouche with it.

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"The wig and the scourges in the hands point to its being a figure of the King himself; but his name cannot be traced in the lower inscription.

"As to the source, the figure is certainly genuinely ancient, and by its smell it has been buried in moist earth (not in an Egyptian tomb), and has not been kept long by an Arab. All this agrees with the account of its finding."

(S.) W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

I may remind my readers that Tahutmes III. is the Alexander of Egyptian history, who carried the Egyptian arms over the whole of Anterior Asia. It is the same prince who, as mentioned above, is represented in the hieroglyphic record on the temple of Deir-el-Bahr, of the Punt expedition under queen Hat-shepsut, his aunt. I ask how this statuette got south of the Zambesi into the very districts from which the ancient Egyptians could get not only their precious metals, but also their frankincense, gums, ivory, ebony and wild beasts, where their relations, the Hottentots, then lived and governed, where we find to-day paintings in Egyptian style all over the country.

I know very well that I cannot give conclusive mathematical proofs. But I ask, "Are not the facts which I bring forward more striking and conclusive than any evidence pointing to any other part of Africa, particularly Somaliland? We have in South Africa an ancient copper and gold district; an original population kindred to the Egyptians with remnants of an ancient Egyptian civilisation; and an Egyptian relic, from the time of Egypt's greatest expansion,—the image of a prince who is represented in connection with the most celebrated expedition to Punt.

For these reasons I believe that the goal of the Egyptian Punt expeditions was Africa, south of the Zambesi. I shall wait, with great interest, for any similar evidence which may be brought forward by any adherent of another theory.

I sum up the conclusions which I draw from my explorations as follows:

1. In order to find out where the gold expeditions of the ancient world went to, we have to look for ruins of ancient gold-workings.

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AEGYPTIAN USHABTÉ-FIGURE.
Found 32° E., 17° S.;
south of Zambesi.

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2. Such ruins we find in Africa between Zambesi and Sabi on the grandest scale.

3. It is, therefore, likely that in this part of Africa was the source for the gold of the most ancient nations.

4. This is a fact more or less historically proved, as we find in this district ruins not only of a long Phoenician period, but also evidence of a prehistoric Egyptian influence.

5. I, therefore, claim South East Africa between Zambesi and Sabi as that part of Punt whence the Egyptian expeditions got their freight, and the Ophir of the Hebrews.

6. I am of opinion that the Egyptians have had influence there up to 1300 B.C.; that the Phoenician period in which the Jews appeared as a secondary element followed from about 1200 B.C.

7. I am convinced that now the attention of scholars is led to the fact of a prehistoric Egyptian period in South Africa, new evidence will come forward to support this theory; and I am prepared to go on with my own researches.

My readers will agree with me that these facts are of the greatest interest as well for the ancient history of Egypt as for the pre-historic epoch of South Africa. We get a picture of an expansion of this race which surpasses all we have hitherto thought possible. When I was in Uganda in 1890, I found there distinct traces of Egyptian influence, and I could state that the mysterious Mountains of the Moon, identical with Unjamwesi, (Land of the moon) south of lake Victoria, were well known to the old Erythrean world. Now we find that Egyptian enterprise extends over the whole of the East African Continent The Northern and Southern halves of the Indian Ocean were in contact up to six thousand years before our own time. This naturally must materially change our ideas of the commercial relations of a period which hitherto we were accustomed to call prehistoric.

Civilisation of mankind is older than we used to think, and every new ethnological discovery compels us to put the limit of prehistoric age further back into the past. This is the general conclusion we have to draw from our solution of the Ophir- and Punt question.

CARL PETERS.

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TRADE OF THE GERMAN PROTECTORATES

As the last of the European Powers Germany has entered the colonial arena. Since the year 1884 it acquired by treaties with native chiefs and the Powers, interested in Africa and the Pacific, nine Protectorates covering together no less than 26,000,00 sq. km. The largest of these Protectorates are the four African Possessions: TOGO, KAMERUN, DEUTSCH SUED WEST AFRICA, and DEUTSCH OST AFRICA. Next in importance come the colonies in the Pacific: DEUTSCH NEU GUINEA, KAROLINEN, MARIANEN, PALAU, SAMOA, MARSHALLINSELN. The smallest is the Chinese Protectorate of KIAUTSCHOU. When Germany acquired these colonies, their value from a trading point was almost nil, whilst hardly any attempt had been made to develop their natural resources. Ost Africa was regarded by the Arab traders only as a hunting ground for elephants and slaves. Owing to interior wars and famines its population was too poor to buy from the civilised world anything but beads, powder, guns and spirits. Togo and Kamerun were valuable only as markets for bad spirits. Their exports consisted entirely of small quantities of palm kernels and palm oil. Sued West Africa was considered to be so barren and hopeless that neither the Cape Colony nor the English Government would incur the obligation of maintaining order and peace there. Trade was almost unknown. Of what little importance the German Possessions in the Pacific were up to a very recent date is no less well known. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to see, that the trade of these Protectorates is still little

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developed and very small if compared with that of neighbouring older colonies. The value of the exports and imports of all German colonies was in 1899, the last year for which complete statistics are published, 52,043,200 M. = £2,602,160. This shows great progress, if we compare the figures of the last eight years for which the trade statistics are available.

TOTAL VALUE OF THE TRADE OF THE GERMAN PROTECTORATES.

1892[1]	M28,670,000	=	£1,933,500
1893	28,244,000	=	1,412,200
1894	28,447,000	=	1,422,300
1895	26,315,000	=	1,315,750
1896	25,886,000	=	1,294,300
1897	32,910,000	=	1,645,500
1898	44,297,000	=	2,214,800
1899	53,069,200	=	2,653,460

A great part of the exports of the Protectorates go to foreign markets, and a great deal of the merchandise imported there comes from foreign countries, which enjoy in every respect the same treatment and the same advantages as the mother country.

The part taken by Germany in the trade of its Protectorates is shown in the following table :—

1892	M10,331,000	=	£516,550
1893	10,227,000	=	511,350
1894	10,270,000	=	513,500
1895	8,975,000	=	448,750
1896	11,348,000	=	567,400
1897	14,245,000	=	712,250
1898	16,868,000	=	843,400
1899	20,809,000	=	1,040,450

The trade of the different German Protectorates has taken a somewhat irregular development: internal wars, failures of crops, and other obstacles having exercised for some time a pernicious influence. Nevertheless the statistics prove in general a not unfavourable continual progress of export and import trade for the eight years in question, as will be shown in the following figures :—

[1] First year for which complete statistics have been published.

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Trade of the German Protectorates.

Deutsch Ost Africa (German East Africa):

	Imports from	and	Exports to	Foreign Countries.
1892	M8,054,000		M7,029,500	M15,083,500
1893	7,712,800		5,580,700	13,493,600
1894	7,167,700		4,877,000	12,044,700
1895	7,608,500		3,257,600	10,866,100
1896	8,665,000		4,117,100	12,782,100
1897	9,042,100		4,958,500	13,980,600
1898	11,852,700		4,532,900	16,185,600
1899	10,822,600		3,957,100	14,759,700

Kamerun:

1892	M4,470,800		M4,263,800	M8,734,600
1893	4,761,600		4,633,400	8,795,000
1894	6,497,400		4,455,300	10,952,700
1895	5,658,200		4,089,800	9,748,000
1896	5,358,900		3,961,300	9,320,200
1897	6,326,800		3,385,500	9,712,300
1898	9,296,800		4,601,600	13,898,400
1899	11,133,200		4,840,800	15,974,000

Togo:

1892	M2,135,900		M2,411,500	M4,547,400
1893	2,414,900		3,413,900	5,828,800
1894	2,240,600		2,894,400	5,135,000
1895	2,353,300		3,048,500	5,401,800
1896	1,886,800		1,651,400	3,538,200
1897	1,975,900		771,000	2,746,900
1898	2,490,900		1,470,484	3,961,400
1899	3,279,700		2,582,700	5,862,400

Sued West Africa:

1897 [1]	M4,887,300		M1,246,700	M6,134,000
1898	5,868,200		915,800	6,785,000
1899	8,941,200		1,399,500	10,340,700

Deutsch Neu Guinea, etc.: [2]

1892	M151,000		M154,000	M305,000
1893	251,000		36,000	267,000
1894	259,000		470,000	729,000
1895	144,000		121,000	265,000
1896	283,000		204,000	487,000
1897	304,000		210,000	514,000
1898	320,000		362,000	682,000
1899	666,000		360,000	1,026,000

[1] First year for which statistics have been published.

[2] Statistics concerning only the trade with Germany.

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SAMOA:[1]

	Imports from	and	Exports to Foreign Countries.		
1892	M1,354,900		M609,300		M1,964,200
1893	1,386,800		596,100		1,282,900
1894	1,844,200		1,069,400		2,913,600
1895	1,667,900		864,200		2,533,100
1896	1,243,400		949,800		2,193,200
1897	1,337,800		811,700		2,149,500
1898	1,573,300		1,213,300		2,786,600
1899	2,226,600		1,879,700		4,106,300

If in all these Protectorates the imports show a larger increase than the exports the principal reason is to be found in the difficulty of opening up the interior for the output of its natural products and the long time needed for the introduction of regular cultivation of the soil. As long as there does not exist a network of railways and steamers bringing the products of the more remote places at very cheap rates to the harbours, and the soil of the colonies cannot be systematically and successfully worked, the bulk of their trade will always be very limited and not correspond to their size. Every internal war and every failure of crops have exercised an unfavourable influence on the commerce.

The German colonial administration has been endeavouring for some time to better this state of things in the Protectorates. It has constructed roads and bridges and is furthering by all means the shipping to and from the colonies. At the same time lines of telegraph have been established in all African Protectorates and in Deutsch Ost and Sued West Africa, and railways are now being constructed. Other lines for Togo and Kamerun are under consideration, as well as harbours and piers in the chief places. No less effort has been made for the purpose of developing the cultivation of the colonies. By the publication of the results of scientific investigation of their resources and giving privileges and assistance of various kinds, capitalists have been induced to make experiments with the cultivation of tropical plants and to examine the mineral wealth of several Protectorates. While researches of the latter kind are now made in Sued West Africa, Ost Africa, and Neu Guinea, plantations of coffee, cocoa, cotton, etc., have been started in all the tropical colonies.

But all these attempts are not yet finished, and exercise so

[1] For Kiautschou complete statistics of trade are not available for 1899. Bulk of trade with Germany 1900 = 5,704,000 M.

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far only little effect on the bulk of the trade of the German Protectorates. Coffee was exported up to 1899 only from Deutsch Ost Africa and in very small quantities. Cocoa comes only from Kamerun and cotton from Neu Guinea. The following tables show the development of these industries:—

EXPORT OF COFFEE FROM OST AFRICA.

1895	M46,000	=	£2,300
1896	37,000	=	1,850
1897	112,000	=	5,600
1898	241,000	=	12,500
1899	93,000	=	4,650
1900	275,000	=	13,750

EXPORTS OF COCOA FROM KAMERUN.

1894	M157,000	=	£6,850
1895	127,000	=	6,350
1896	44,000	=	2,200
1897	239,000	=	11,950
1898	297,000	=	14,850
1899	192,000	=	9,600

EXPORTS OF TOBACCO.

	From Ost Africa.				From Kamerun.		
1894	M249,000	=	£12,450		—		—
1895	35,000	=	1,250	.....	M18,000	=	£900
1896	73,000	=	3,650	.....	16,000	=	800
1897	108,000	=	5,400	.....	10,000	=	500
1898	41,000	=	2,050	.....	—		—
1899	61,500	=	3,075	.....	—		—

FROM NEU GUINEA.

1894	M268,000	=	£13,400
1895	37,000	=	1,850
1896	146,000	=	7,300
1897	132,000	=	6,600
1898	215,000	=	10,750
1899	88,000	=	4,400
1900	120,000	=	6,000

EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM NEU GUINEA.

1894	M6,000	=	£300
1895	13,000	=	650
1896	6,000	=	300
1897	15,000	=	750
1898	15,000	=	750
1899	20,000	=	1,000
1900	11,000	=	550

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The chief articles of export of the Protectorates are here, as in the British and French West African colonies, the usual African products, as is seen in the following figures :—

EXPORTS OF PALM KERNELS.

	From Kamerun.			From Togo.		
1894	M1,431,000	=	£71,550	M1,687,000	=	£84,350
1895	1,122,000	=	56,100	1,653,000	=	82,650
1896	1,323,000	=	66,150	1,158,000	=	56,900
1897	878,000	=	43,900	428,000	=	21,400
1898	1,274,000	=	63,700	780,000	=	39,000
1899	1,260,000	=	63,000	1,291,000	=	64,550

PALM OIL.

1894	M1,210,000	=	£60,500	M1,089,000	=	£54,450
1895	1,038,000	=	51,900	1,084,000	=	54,200
1896	288,300	=	49,400	196,000	=	9,800
1897	771,000	=	35,500	245,000	=	12,250
1898	940,900	=	47,045	130,000	=	6,500
1899	850,000	=	42,500	774,600	=	38,730
1900	—		—	1,015,000	=	50,750

RUBBER.

1894	M1,304,000	=	£65,200	M116,000	=	£5,800
1895	1,103,000	=	55,150	206,000	=	15,300
1896	1,078,000	=	53,900	298,000	=	14,900
1897	887,500	=	44,375	245,000	=	12,250
1898	1,600,300	=	80,015	421,000	=	21,050
1899	1,398,000	=	94,900	366,000	=	18,300
1900	—		—	521,000	=	26,050

RUBBER FROM OST AFRICA.

1894	M609,000	=	£30,450
1895	772,000	=	38,600
1896	892,000	=	49,600
1897	1,149,000	=	57,450
1898	970,000	=	48,500
1899	1,537,000	=	66,850
1900	1,058,000	=	52,900

EXPORTS OF IVORY.

	From Ost Africa.			From Kamerun.		
1894	M2,149,000	=	£107,450	M454,000	=	£27,700
1895	1,423,000	=	71,150	596,000	=	29,800
1896	1,684,000	=	84,100	370,000	=	18,500
1897	1,495,000	=	79,750	534,000	=	26,735
1898	1,292,000	=	64,600	443,800	=	22,190
1899	994,000	=	49,700	670,000	=	32,000
1900	997,000	=	79,850	—		—

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EXPORTS OF COPRAH.

From Ost Africa.

1895	M47,000	=	£2,450
1896	103,000	=	5,150
1897	205,000	=	10,250
1898	314,000	=	15,700
1899	108,000	=	5,400
1900	210,400	=	10,520

EXPORTS OF COPRAH.

	From Neu Guinea.			From Samoa.		
1898	M82,000	=	£4,100	M2,000,000	=	£100,000
1899	190,000	=	9,500	4,000,000	=	200,000
1900	133,000	=	6,650	—		—

The chief articles of import in the German Protectorates are the same as in all countries undergoing similar development. In the first place may be mentioned textile goods; of no less importance are hardware, engines, provisions. Spirits, arms and gunpowder do not play a less important rôle in this trade, as is often pretended. The figures for imports for the year 1899 give sufficient proof for this assertion :—

KAMERUN.

Total imports	M11,133,000	=	£556,600
Imports of textile goods	2,840,000	=	142,000
,, hardware	890,000	=	44,500
,, wood	990,000	=	49,500
,, spirits	936,000	=	46,800
,, powder	458,000	=	22,900
,, arms	372,000	=	18,600

OST AFRICA

Total imports	M10,823,000	=	£541,160
Imports of textile goods	4,659,000	=	232,950
,, rice	1,884,000	=	94,200
,, hardware	376,000	=	18,300
,, provisions	1,256,000	=	62,800
,, spirits	574,000	=	28,700
,, powder	163,000	=	8,300

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TOGO.

Total imports	M3,280,000	=	£164,000
Imports of textile goods	1,022,000	=	51,100
,, hardware	89,000	=	4,450
,, provisions	598,000	=	29,900
,, spirits	634,000	=	31,700
,, powder	82,000	=	4,100

SUED WEST AFRICA.

Total imports	M5,868,200	=	£293,410
Imports of textile goods	537,500	=	26,575
,, hardware	770,700	=	38,535
,, wood	678,200	=	33,910
,, provisions	723,200	=	36,160
,, spirits	537,400	=	26,870

ALFRED ZIMMERMAN.

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THE FRENCH IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA

ON January 23rd, 1892, the Paris *Figaro* published a literary supplement entitled "Our African domain" in which was set forth by various competent authorities—amongst whom were Captain Binger,[1] Emile Masqueray the well known student of Algerian problems, Georges Rolland one of the foremost advocates of the Trans-Saharan Railway and "Harry Alis" the redoubtable Colonial propagandist, Lord Cromer's *bête noir*, whose tragic end will be in the recollection of many—the past achievements, actual position and future aspirations of France in Western and Central Africa. The supplement was divided into five parts, entitled respectively "Algeria": "Penetration towards the Chad": "Senegal and Dependencies": "Our position on the Gulf of Guinea": "Congo and Chad." At the time this supplement appeared, the revival of colonial ambitions in France, which owed its inception to the foresight and courage of Jules Ferry, had taken firm root among the *élite* of French Public Opinion. But although the seed where it fell gave forth lusty fruit, the sowers were relatively few, and the area under cultivation was still but small, in 1892. The Chamber of Deputies was slow to grant fresh credits. Politicians as a whole viewed the eloquence of Eugène Etienne and other exponents of the Ferry school with ill-disguised nervousness, if not with positive apprehension, fearing that the country was being turned from its true business of guarding against possible aggression from Germany, and was playing into Bismarck's hands by rushing

[1] Captain—now Commandant Binger—has for some little time past been in charge of the African Department of the French Foreign Office. His travels, books and pamphlets are familiar to every student of Western Africa.

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into Colonial adventures which it was known that Bismarck, for his own reasons, was desirous of encouraging. No one Party, or rather Group, cared to identify itself too closely with the expansionists, remembering the whirlwind of popular passion which assailed and overwhelmed *le Tonkinois*. On the other hand it was not wise to entirely dissociate one's self from a movement which was steadily gaining a hold over the masses. So Parliament vacillated and, swayed by contrary winds, voted funds one minute, and sought to withdraw them the next.

The *Figaro's* supplement was widely criticised. The schemes it elaborated were not merely ambitious: they were gigantic. "Our policy—it argued—is to make one homogeneous entity of Algeria, Senegal and Congo *via* the Tuareg-Sahara and the Central and Western Sudan." The timid Deputy shuddered at the prospect. What must have been, even to the master minds who initiated the policy, not much more than a fond hope strengthened by an unshaken faith in the destiny of the country; what, in the eyes of those who opposed it, appeared as a monstrous figment of the imagination, is to-day a reality. How has it been accomplished?

"Our intentions are pure and noble, our cause is just, the future cannot fail us," wrote Faidherbe in 1859, and, on the whole, despite errors, despite the effects of temporary reaction coming after acute disappointment, despite some individual instances of cruelty and oppression, events have justified Faidherbe's confident declaration. The work of France in Africa during the last ten years and more has, in the main, been a work of progress tending to benefit the populations with whom she has come in contact. Notable exceptions there have been, of course, especially during the years 1897 and 1898, when the scramble for West Africa was at its height and, under the spell of an insensate rivalry, deeds were committed by all the parties in the struggle which cannot be too strongly condemned. To France's debit account must be placed the ruthless proceedings of Bretonnet in Borgu, the needless bloodshed of which Mossi, Kipprisi, and Gurunsi were the scenes, the inevitable barbarity which characterised Marchand's hunt for carriers in the Upper Ubanghi and Bahr-el-Ghazal. These incidents in

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themselves are odious and reprehensible, but it is only fair to recognise that they were the outcome of international jealousies the responsibility for which was collective rather than single, shared in by other Powers, as well as by France herself. In what may be regarded as France's own sphere of influence, acts have also been perpetrated, from time to time, which call for censure. The punishment meted out to certain towns hostile to the French in the Western Sudan, have been altogether disproportionate to the offence. In the case of the French officers, Voulet and Chanoine, an incalculable amount of suffering was inflicted upon the unfortunate people on the Western banks of the Niger. But from these isolated transgressions against the principles of humanity, culpable as they have been, the records of no European Power in Africa are free, and they cannot, in the circumstances of France, be held to negative or even weaken the advantages she has undoubtedly conferred upon the population of the Western and Central Sudan ; nor yet tarnish the great reputation France has achieved in the emancipation of millions from centuries of tyranny and invasion. If she has had her Voulets and Chanoines, France can show in the persons of her Bingers, her Monteils, her Crozats, her Foureaus, Noirots, Gentils and Hoursts, performances which the subjects of other Powers may have equalled but have not surpassed, always excepting Barth whose moral grandeur towers high above that of all his competitors on West African soil.

From the time when the Sieur de Brüe—one of the clearest headed Frenchmen who ever served his country in Africa—paid ceremonious visits to the King of Kayor and the "grand Seratik" of the Fulas at the close of the XVIIth and at the beginning of the XVIIIth Century ; from the time when raiding bands of Trarza Moors, extending their depredations to the very confines of St. Louis (1840–60) compelled Faidherbe to take the offensive against them, to the present day, it has been the lot of France to find herself confronted in West Africa with races differentiating in every respect from the true Negro of the Coast regions—the people whom England has, up to the present, been chiefly concerned with. Eight years before a certain Select Committee of the House of Commons, frightened at the responsibilities England was assuming in West Africa, pusillanimously

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recommended the abandonment of all our Settlements except Sierra Leone, thus enunciating a policy the evil effects of which continued until 1895 and greatly limited our footing in West and Central Africa, France had just emerged successfully from a death grapple with one of the most powerful individuals that ever sprung from African loins, el Haj-Omar, the great Tukulor Mallam and warrior. Looking backward at that long vista of years when France was slowly but irresistibly thrusting her influence into Western Africa *via* the Senegal and Upper Niger by pouring out her treasure and the blood of her sons like water, while England remained supine on the Coast heedless of the representations of her merchant-pioneers, it was not surprising that, awaking almost too late from our lethargy, we should have found the French, having triumphed over their obstacles in the North, forging Southwards and cutting off our rich hinterlands in the interior. Writing to the Marquis of Dufferin in 1892, Lord Salisbury contrasted the policy of Great Britain and France in Western Africa. "France"—wrote Lord Salisbury—"from her basis on the Senegal Coast, has pursued steadily the aim of establishing herself on the Upper Niger and its affluents. . . . Great Britain, on the other hand, has adopted the policy of advance by commercial enterprise." There was, indeed, on the part of Liverpool, Manchester and Bristol merchants, plenty of "commercial enterprise," but it would have been difficult for Lord Salisbury to have quoted a single instance where that "commercial enterprise" had constituted "a policy of advance."

It is due to the type of native inhabiting the chief radius of France's operations in Western Africa, that her task has been rendered so dangerous and so difficult, and its fulfilment so remarkable. Criticise as we may, and often enough unjustly, because ignorantly, the colonizing capacities of our Gallic neighbours, and the fluctuations of their Colonial policy, it is beyond question that no nation on earth could have achieved what she has achieved in Western Africa, without the possession of a doggedness and determination for which we do not—to our own injury, be it said—even now, give her the credit which she deserves. For centuries upon centuries, the enormous tract which lies between the edge of the Sahara desert and the fringe

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of the tropical forest belt—consisting for the most part of grassy uplands varied by wide plains of amazing fertility, by reason of the yearly overflow of the waters of the Niger—had been the cockpit of Africa. Empire after Empire rose and fell: invasion and counter-invasion swept devastatingly over the country. The splendours of Jenne and Timbuktu vanished with the sway of the Songhay, beneath the bullets of Morocco's musketeers. Fula domination arose and gave way before Tukulor cruelties. Semi-negro kingdoms came into being, declared their independence of this or that conqueror, only to be subdued, while their victors had, in turn, to bite the dust before some stronger foe. The mingling of races in that vast region has no parallel in Africa. Ages ago (possibly as far back as two centuries B.C. when the Carthaginians under Hanno traded at the Gambia's mouth and reported the presence of natives "less black than the Ethiopians") the pastoral Fula—veritable Asiatic—had settled therein with his flocks and herds, destined in time by the sheer force of superior intellect to become the master where he had been either the guest or the despised tenant. Later came infiltrations of the Moorish element proper; pastorals also these, emigrating from the plateaux of Adrar to the well watered valley of the Niger. Tuaregs, the redskins of the Sahara, descendants, as some affect to believe, of those tall, fair-haired, long-limbed warriors of Northern Europe who, about 1500 B.C., advanced slowly through Gaul and Spain, and crossing the Mediterranean in ships, landed on the North African Coast, ever pushing southwards, overcoming the terrors of the desert and reaching the green pastures beyond, but repairing the greater part of the year to the desolate Saharan solitudes of which they remain the virtual masters, though Foureau and his *tirailleurs* have for the first time in history passed through without paying the toll. Arabs too, but again later, and generally speaking further South and East in Kanem, Wadai and Baghirmi, where Lamy met his death and Gentil has been fighting these two years and more: Arabs from the North with caravans of merchandise, and other Arabs from the East, Shuwas, of whom no man knows the history or the origin. They intermarried did these tawny, straight-haired nomadic strangers with the aboriginal blacks, or raped their women as the case might be, and from

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these unions, legitimate or otherwise, through long centuries, there sprang into existence fierce cross races and wild, reared in war, nurtured in an atmosphere of turmoil and brigandage: Negro-Fula, Negro-Moor, Negro-Arab, exaggerating the savage instincts of the parent stock, whom they turned and rent when strong enough. One such hybrid product became in time the scourge of the Western Sudan—the Tukulor, offspring of Negro (Joloff) and Fula, unsparing, ruthless, dreaded alike by Fula and Negro, and whose atrocities are written in letters of blood from Toro (Senegal) to the frontiers of Hausa.

Into this medley of races there came in the Xth Century of our era the first whisperings of a revealed religion. The whispering quickly changed to the deep hum of many voices proclaiming aloud the word of the Prophet. Islam spread with inconceivable rapidity. The Fulas became speedy converts, but the arts they employed to win over their Pagan neighbours were usually peaceful. Not so with the Tukulors and the other cross-races. They saw in it naught but a fresh incentive to warlike deeds, and soon professed Mohammedans were not merely massacring the infidels, but waging battle against their more peaceable co-religionists. As though this were not enough, another fruitful cause for bloodshed and disturbance was fated to arise and still further plunge in woe this distracted country. The Portuguese adventurers on the Coast, in the course of their professed desire to save the soul of the Negro, made a discovery to wit, that the muscular development of the Negro eminently fitted him for manual labour. From that discovery dates the most atrocious traffic the world has ever witnessed. In their greed for slaves the Christians of Western Europe and of America—without distinction of nationality, though perhaps the Portuguese and English were the worst offenders—set tribe against tribe, and the better to stimulate the industry, imported wholesale, guns and gunpowder, objects which they ascertained the Negroes greatly coveted. The blacks waged war right merrily upon one another and their so-called prisoners of war filled the Slavers' hulks. Presently the tawny races beyond the forest belt joined in the game, desiring above all things the acquisition of guns and the wherewithal to use them, which meant power and increased facilities for plunder. Slave raiding then

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assumed almost incredible proportions. Internecine warfare received a new and terrible impetus. No excuse, whether valid or imaginary was henceforth needed to attack one's neighbour, and where in former days contentment might have been secured by a rich booty of cattle and sheep, the requirements of the case now necessitated the capture of the human animal himself. In such a country, desolated by centuries of strife; among such a people, upon whose vices Europe had grafted her own; under such circumstances, has lain the destiny of France in Western Africa.

It may be doubted whether the problems with which France has had to contend have ever been rightly understood among us, for Englishmen are usually generous minded enough to appreciate good work carried out by others, even though the others are sometimes rivals. Certain is it that of the nature of French exploits in West and Central Africa, the average Englishman is hopelessly ignorant, and even English writers of repute persist in shutting their eyes to the great, the almost revolutionary changes which experience, dearly bought, has wrought in French Colonial conceptions. We have failed as a nation in doing justice to the actions of the French in Africa. We have underrated their capacity and refused to admit the existence at their council-boards of a central plan carefully matured which the frequent shuffling of Ministerial portfolios merely retarded but did not alter. At the present moment we apparently will not realize that France is applying to the economic development of her vast territories, the same strenuousness of purpose with which she steadily pursued her work of conquest and absorption. We cling to the old shibboleths which represent the ideals of French colonization in the light of a Custom House Official and soldier: an expenditure overlapping revenue; constant grants in aid from the Mother country; an embryonic trade, and a growing budgetary deficit. "With the exception of Tunis"—wrote Sir Harry Johnston in 1899—"there is not a single French possession in Africa which is self-supporting or other than a drain on the French Exchequer."[1] I beg respectfully to differ. Senegal is self-supporting, Dahomey is self-supporting, the Ivory Coast is self-supporting, Guinea has never cost the Metropolis a farthing,

[1] *The Colonization of Africa.*

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while as for the growth of trade in these Colonies the following figures are, in all conscience, eloquent enough :

SENEGAL.	GUINEA.	IVORY COAST.	DAHOMEY.
Total Trade.	Total Trade.	Total Trade.	Total Trade.
1889... £1,520,000	1889... £320,000	1889... £160,000	1889... £360,000
1899... 2,920,000	1899... 1,000,000	1899... 520,000	1899... 1,000,000
1900... 3,189,400[1]	1900... 973,000[2]	1900... 686,200	1900... 1,101,084

The only part of West Africa where France is persisting in the old blunders (and adding new and worse ones on to them) which warranted ten years ago such criticisms as Sir Harry Johnston now advances, is in lower French Congo (South-West Africa) and with that part of Africa I will not attempt to deal, as it has a special set of conditions all its own and remains quite outside the scope of the present article.

Meanwhile Englishmen would be well advised to look certain facts in the face. By a policy of force judiciously applied, France is restoring to the enormous expanse of territory between the Niger and the tropical forest belt, the prosperity which it possessed in the XVth and XVIth centuries under the Songhay, when Jenne was the granary and store-house of the Niger countries. She is laying the basis of a prosperity far greater than in those days, because she is able to bring peace when the Songhays could not. She has broken the power of the cross-races, upon whom she is conferring the means of existence without rapine, murder and slave raiding, and has made practically impossible the renewal of *jihads* by the Tijaniyah[3] Sect on anything like a large scale. Having conquered the cross-races, she wisely refrains from either interfering with their customs, such as domestic slavery, upon which the social fabric of Africa exists, or from allowing, save in strictly circumscribed limits, Christian propaganda among them, being well aware that such propaganda in Mohammedan communities but newly subjugated is the certain precursor of trouble, bloodshed and

[1] Notwithstanding the virulent outbreak of yellow fever, which swept away a large proportion of the white population.

[2] Decrease accounted for by partial failure of the rubber crop.

[3] While recognizing the pacific nature of, and co-operating as far as possible with, the Quadriyah Sect which has won for Islam most of its victories in West Africa.

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fanaticism. France has hunted down and destroyed the three tyrants who successively barred her way to the interior and who had perpetrated untold miseries upon hundreds of thousands of human beings—El Haj Omar, Amadu, and Samory. In three years it is hoped the Railway from Kayes on the Senegal may have reached Bammaku on the Niger, and then nearly 1000 miles of navigable water-ways, joined together by the iron horse, will connect the fertile plains of the Western Sudan with the Atlantic port of Dakar.

In her outlets on the West Coast for the vast interior trade which the new order of things will bring, and is bringing with it, France is proceeding on real scientific lines. Recognizing the truth of Faidherbe's description of the Negro as a man "naturally good, with an intelligence as well developed as many a white race, but apathetic by reason of his environment, lacking in force of character, in perseverance and foresight, and towards whom the civilized peoples have been very culpable,"[1] France is executing the programme which Lord Salisbury, in the correspondence already mentioned, speaks of as having constituted the policy of England, viz.: "advance by commercial enterprise." But in the case of France it is a truer saying. It is humiliating to be compelled to own that in the management of her possessions on the West Coast, France appears to be displaying a greater aptitude than ourselves. We are certainly constructing three railways to her two. On the other hand her administrative expenditure is less than ours; instead of entertaining more officials, as is the common supposition—I am referring exclusively to the true West Coast Colonies of the two Powers, viz.: Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey belonging to France; Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Lagos, and Southern Nigeria belonging to England—she actually keeps up a fewer number than we do. Her budgets show an excess of revenue over expenditure, while we are spending beyond our means and saddling our Colonies with onerous public debts. The old restrictions to competitive trade have been removed, thanks to the Anglo-French Convention of 1898, and Colonies which, as

[1] *Le Sénégal: La France dans l'Afrique Occidentale.* Par le Général Faidherbe, 1889.

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such, can only boast of a few years' official existence, are going ahead far more rapidly than are our much older Colonies.[1]

But it is in her handling of native questions in the land of the true Negroes, that the superiority of France's methods have manifested, and are manifesting themselves, so strikingly. Here again I am not dealing with matters of opinion, but with matters of fact. In Guinea and in Dahomey,[2] France has succeeded in levying a direct tax upon the inhabitants without bloodshed, and its annual collection gives rise to no disturbances. The result has been obtained by tact and perseverance, by conciliating and making presents to the Chiefs, by working through them and with them, by talking to them quietly and reasonably; in short, by the exercise of common-sense and by a scientific perception of the characteristics of the people with whom she has to deal. One may willingly pardon the modest self-congratulation expressed by M. Fonssagrives, the Colonial Secretary of Dahomey, in the course of his most interesting report upon that Colony for 1899.[3] "The operation"—he writes—"as will have been observed by what precedes was a most delicate one, and we know in like circumstances the obstacles not yet surmounted, against which the Governors of the British Colonies in West Africa have struggled. The local Administration of Dahomey has therefore achieved a success upon which it would be unbecoming to further insist, but which nevertheless is very real. The census and the application of the tax in Dahomey has been carried out without any disturbance."

A *résumé* of the Dahomey Poll-tax Ordinance may be briefly given here. It provides for a tax of frs. 2·25 per head per

[1] It should also be mentioned that in some cases, notably in Dahomey, the import duties upon European goods are very much lower than in our own Colonies. The trade of Dahomey—which is the neighbour and rival of Lagos—showed in 1900 an increase of £116,365 over 1899; that of Lagos showed a *decrease* of £154,666 for the same year as compared with 1899. In 1899 the expenditure of Dahomey (notwithstanding the railway construction) was £22,628 *less* than the revenue, and £10,993 *less* than the expenditure in 1898. The expenditure of Lagos for the same year (1899) was £30,497 *more* than the revenue, and £19,486 *more* than the expenditure in 1898.

[2] A direct tax began to be applied in the Ivory Coast on May 14th of this year, 1901.

[3] *Colonie du Dahomey et dépendances.* Rapport d'ensemble sur la situation générale de la Colonie en 1899. Porto Novo.

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annum on adults of both sexes and on children of more than 10 years old in the five largest Coast towns, and a tax of frs. 1·25 per head per annum on adults of both sexes and on children of more than 10 years old in the whole of the Colony, with the exception of those towns. Chiefs get commissions, varying according to circumstances, of 10c., 15c. and 25c. per head. The Residents in the interior are instructed to inform the Governor when the existence of drought or general poverty tends to render the tax a hardship upon the inhabitants, in which cases it may be either wholly or partially suspended. In order to give confidence to the Chiefs, their commissions can be paid them before the total amount for which they are responsible has been handed in, provided of course that the Residents are satisfied as to their loyalty.[1] France thus establishes amicable relations with the Chiefs, leaves the collecting of the tax to them, and pays them for bringing it in. In 1899 the poll-tax applied in a few of the Dahomey Coast districts only, yielded frs. 205,260·75 or roughly £8,200. In 1900 the radius affected was increased, and the poll-tax yielded frs 557,237·97 or say £22,290, *i.e.* £31,100 in two years, and accompanied, it is well to note, by a steadily expanding trade.

I have hitherto almost exclusively discussed the action of France in the Western Sudan and in the coast-wise Negro region. But this study, incomplete as it is, would be valueless without referring to the accomplishment of that colossal plan sketched out by the *Figaro* in 1892, viz.: the unification (if the word be permissible) of the French Possessions in Africa by expeditions from North, West, and South, designed to meet on the shores of Lake Chad. It is a stirring tale. The first attempt —if we exclude that of Flatters from the North, of which the purpose was limited—was made from the South, by the blue-eyed, fair-haired enthusiast Paul Crampbel. He fell assassinated by Rabah's emissaries at El Kuti on April 15th, 1891. Dybowski and Maistre, sent out by the French African Committee in Crampbel's footsteps, had to retire without doing much more than useful exploring work. Then came Gentil's turn, a modest naval lieutenant, who, profiting by Rabah's complications in Bornu, succeeded after incredible difficulties in reaching the

[1] Supplément du Journal Officiel du 15 Février 1901.

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mouth of the Shari (after signing a treaty of Protectorate with Baghirmi) and floating a small steamer upon the waters of the mysterious lake. But the success was short-lived. Rabah recrossed the Shari, forced the French to retire and once again swept Baghirmi with fire and sword. France hurried fresh reinforcements to the spot, and these under Bretonnet were attacked by Rabah and decimated. A further and more vigorous effort was required.

And here the scene shifts to the North. In October, 1898, that intrepid explorer Foureau left the Oasis of Sadrata near Wargla in Algeria at the head of a force of picked men, 310 strong, consisting of troopers from the Senegalese and Saharan *tirailleurs*, than whom there are probably no more splendid fighters in the world, unless it be our own Sikhs. Foureau was accompanied by three civilian friends. Commandant Lamy led the military portion of the expedition, which comprised four other officers besides himself. The object of the expedition was to cross the Algerian Sahara and reach the Chad, while Gentil and Bretonnet gained a firm foothold on its shores, by working upwards from the Congo and Ubanghi. Foureau and his companions plunged into the unknown desert, and for ten months entirely disappeared from view. Frequent rumours of a wholesale massacre reached Europe, and remembering the fate of Douls, de Palot, Dournaux-Dupérré and Joubert, Flatters and Bonnier at the hands of the fierce Nomads who roam the desolate wastes through which Foureau had to pass, France held her breath. If Foureau fell, it would not only be a frightful disaster fraught with peril to French policy throughout her vast Mohammedan zone in Africa: it might also mean a revulsion of popular feeling, a hanging up of cherished schemes for a generation or more. But Foureau did not fall, or fail. He reached the Asben oases in safety, and proved by demonstration to timid minds that the Tuaregs, when confronted by a well armed and disciplined force, skilfully led and sufficiently numerous to inspire respect, prefer to hold themselves at a distance.

Again the scene changes. The plan was half accomplished. The third advance came from the West by the way of the Niger Bend. It was at first attended by the direst results. The

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gallant Cazemajou met a cruel and treacherous death at Zinder. Voulet and Chanoine, who succeeded him, showed what evil unlimited authority and the disordering effects of the African climate can work upon ill-regulated minds. Denounced by one of their subordinates for barbarous conduct towards the natives, they, having already forgotten the ordinary dictates of humanity, forgot alike honour and patriotism, foully murdered the superior officer who had been instructed to replace them, tore off their uniforms, declared themselves renegades and perpetrated the wildest excesses. But their shrift was short and they soon met their fate from the rifles of the native soldiers they had temporarily led astray. It was one of the most terrible episodes in the modern history of Africa. The French Government, however, did not relinquish its determination. The fragments of the Voulet-Chanoine mission were got together, and under the joint leadership of Captain Joalland and Lieutenant Meynier reached the Chad, subsequently joining Gentil's forces in the lower Shari. By this time, Foureau had also gained the Chad. The three missions which after so many vicissitudes thus met together at their common goal, were immediately called upon to face a new and most formidable danger. Against the town of Kusri or Kusseri where the French had established their headquarters, Rabah was marching at the head of 5,000 men, of whom 2,000 were armed with guns of various patterns. He had also three field pieces, captured from Bretonnet. The French disposed of a total strength of 774 officers and men—the latter natives without exception—with four field pieces. They were assisted by 1,500 Baghirmi auxiliaries who do not appear to have been of much use, contenting themselves with looting after the battle was over. Rabah pitched his war camp three miles from Kusri and awaited the onslaught of the French. It proved to be irresistible. Rabah himself perished. His losses amounted to 1,000 killed and wounded, and his camp, with the whole of its contents, fell into the hands of the French. The French losses were severe. They included the brave Lamy, Captain Cointet, a white non-commissioned officer and 17 men killed. Their wounded amounted to 60, among them Captain Lamothe and Lieutenants Meynier and Galland. But the victory was complete, and Rabah, the

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noise of whose conquests had filled Central Africa for close upon a quarter of a century, whose destructive strides had left a bloody track from the Bahr-el-Ghazal to the Chad, Rabah, the last of the great slave-raiders, had gone the way of El Haj Omar, and of Samory. The plan elaborated by the *Figaro* eight years previously was an accomplished fact.

Since Rabah's overthrow, the French have been engaged in systematically consolidating their hold upon the Central Sudan and the lower Shari. M. Térrier, the *Secrétaire-Général* of the French African Committee, explains in the Committee's Bulletin for April 1901 the procedure which is being adopted. One cannot but be impressed with the grasp, the sagacity and the statesmanship displayed. The Shari region has been divided into two Districts, the most Northerly of which abuts on Lake Chad and includes Baghirmi and the Shari mouths. It is administered on military lines. The Southern District, comprising the upper reaches of the river and its affluents, is administered on civil lines. The population of the Southern District is composed of Negroes whose religion is fetishism or what it pleases us to call fetishism, although the term, as Ellis and Miss Kingsley have pointed out, is not expressive of the true significance of that religion. The Northern District is inhabited by various branches of the Negroid Baghirmis, by the Kotokos, by the Shuwa Arabs and by a few pastoral Fulani or Fulas. The Pagans of the Southern District have for centuries been subjected to the raids of the Arabised-Negroes of Bornu and Baghirmi. It was from among them that the principal supplies of slaves which used to find their way across the desert route to Tripoli before the Firman of 1865 were drawn. France, by ridding them of the slave-raiders, claims the right to make them share in her administrative expenses. She is all the more justified in doing so, as for many years to come, and until the Shari is connected with the Ubanghi by a railway, there will be no trade upon which to levy duties, in order to obtain revenue. One-half of the population is expected to furnish carriers, the other half pays an annual tax of four pounds of rubber per hut, of which two pounds is returned to the Chiefs as commission. We are assured—on the authority of M. Térrier—that the Chiefs are bringing in the tax volun-

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tarily from long distances. In the Northern District, which was directly under Rabah's influence, the French found an existing organization which they have in the main retained, but the tax levied by the Emir of Baghirmi upon his subjects being considered too heavy, the French have reduced it by two-thirds, thus relieving the population from an undue burden of taxation. The Emir and his Chiefs—through whom French influence is exercised—benefit by this reduced tax; that is to say, they keep it for themselves. Contributions of slaves to the Emir and Chiefs in the form of tribute by the sub-Chiefs are, of course, suppressed. The revenue of the Emir being thus limited, but nevertheless assured to him together with the continuation of his prestige, the Emir himself, who owes his throne to the French and has, moreover, been relieved by them of the necessity of paying an annual tribute to Wadai, is expected to furnish annually to the Administration, 240 pounds of millet, 500 cloths, and 100 oxen, amounting roughly to £1,680.

Here then, as in the Western Sudan, the words of Faidherbe ring sound, and M. Etienne, speaking at a Conference held the other day at the Paris Colonial School, was only saying what was true when he asserted that:

"France can in all sincerity maintain that she has delivered the peoples of inland Africa from an intolerable yoke. She has liberated millions of human beings from sanguinary tyrants who had reduced them to slavery. She has accomplished a work of emancipation, of liberty and of generosity."[1]

It cannot be said that the task which France has set herself is ended. In the Central Sudan it has perhaps only begun. Ahead of her lies a great danger, perhaps the greatest danger with which she has yet been confronted. The Emir of Wadai has invited French assistance in his struggles against the most powerful religious sect remaining in Mohammedan Africa, the sect of the Senussi. France is bound to answer the appeal—indeed, appears to have answered it already—not only because

[1] It would be sad indeed if with this splendid record behind her France were to give her final acquiescence in the establishment in French Congo of a system of colonization destined to extend the abuses which flourish so luxuriantly in the Congo State.

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Wadai is situated within her sphere of influence according to the Anglo-French Convention of 1899, but because so long as hostile influences are at work in that country she cannot feel that her position around Lake Chad is secure.

Englishmen should wish France well in the future difficulties which may beset her. The era of mutual political rivalry on the African field has happily passed away, one may hope for ever. France has rescued the fairest regions of Africa from the curse of the internal slave trade, and has replaced chaos and disorganization by a rule which, although inflexible, is stable and habitually just. On the other hand, France—by the aid of men like Ballot, Binger, and Ballay, men who think nothing of spending five to eight years on the West Coast of Africa—is laying the basis of a commercially prosperous Empire, the workings of which it behoves Englishmen, in their own interest, to study and appreciate.

EDMUND D. MOREL.

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THE WORK OF THE LIVERPOOL SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE

THIS School, established only so recently as 1898, has undertaken the huge work of combating the chief of tropical diseases, namely, Malarial Fever, in the extensive tract of country of West Africa.

This campaign commenced at the time when the School secured the services of Major Ross, then fresh from his important discoveries in India, of the part played by certain species of mosquitoes in the propagation of malarial fever, in which he found that the insect was necessary for the life of that small actively-moving parasite of the blood-cells which is the cause of malarial fever, and, that after the completion of a further stage in its development, the parasite was again transmitted to man during the bite of the insect, in the irritating and somewhat poisonous secretion of the insect's veneno-salivary glands.

This work of the School has been carried on by numerous expeditions to the West Coast of Africa, under the direction of the Members of the staff of the School—and practically the whole of the Coast from Bathurst to Old Calabar and some distance inland has been visited. The first series of expeditions, to Sierra Leone, Accra, and Lagos, the largest towns on the Coast, had for an object the determination as to whether it would be possible in those towns to attack the special genus of mosquito which carried the infection—such an idea was the most direct outcome of the new discoveries. If the insect were destroyed or in any way prevented from multiplying, the disease would naturally be entirely or partly prevented. Considerable proof was obtained that the destruction of the insect in one or other of its life's stages—the egg, the larva, the pupa (which stages are passed through in water), or the adult—was not difficult, and various measures for the carrying out of this

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destruction, and therefore for the prevention of Malarial Fever, were propagated—such as drainage of the surface, reconstruction of roads and streets, the use of culicicides, and personal protection.

The next expeditions in 1900 covered the large tract of country known as Northern and Southern Nigeria, which consists of three distinct tracts—the district of the mangrove swamp; the flat fertile palm-oil district; and the undulating, sparsely-wooded country beyond. The country is one essentially of large native towns, and at present, small European settlements. The expedition, which extended over a period of seven months, strongly expressed the necessity of the application of two principal measures for the prevention amongst Europeans of Malarial Fever on a large scale, viz.:—

The segregation of Europeans at a distance of at least half a mile from native dwellings; and the *complete drainage* of the surface in the neighbourhood of European quarters. The confirmation of the fact that some 25 to 90 per cent. of native children up to about the age of fifteen years, contain numerous malarial parasites in their blood, thus constituting the source from which the parasites are taken up by the mosquito (*Anopheles*) and later transmitted to Europeans or other natives who may be bitten; coupled with the fact that many unnecessary collections of stagnant water, forming excellent breeding-places for numerous mosquitoes, are allowed to remain in the immediate neighbourhood of European dwellings in ditches, pools, gutters and puddles and other places which might be easily obliterated by drainage and other means, made these two general conclusions obvious.

In the Report of this expedition many pictures were given of the conditions which have led to the bad repute of many of the European settlements of that country. The close proximity of many native huts containing numerous children whose blood is laden with malarial parasites, and the presence of many *Anopheles*-breeding collections of water, always combined to account for such evil repute.

It was moreover particularly determined that in the large towns these measures might prove difficult and expensive in their execution: in the towns with small European settlements,

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they were easy of practical application: and finally that in stations to be established in the future these two principles formed the essential lines to be observed in their construction, for the creation of stations free from that pest of the towns already established—malarial fever.

Throughout the whole country, attention to measures of segregation and drainage, and some attempt at their execution—or even of the latter alone, if the former proved, at present, expensive, would quickly produce a practical result.

It was not, however, until supported by the pecuniary aid of a Glasgow merchant, that the School undertook the actual carrying out under the direction of Major Ross of the measures which it had, by means of its previous expeditions, recommended. During last year an expedition started for Sierra Leone with the distinct object of annihilating mosquitoes and their breeding-places. The undertaking is supported by the Local Government, and a gang of men is detailed off for the express purpose. The operations have been carried out under the supervision and directions of Major Ross. They have a considerable range, from the simple removal of the very numerous pots and pans, bottles and calabashes, tins, mugs, and numerous other articles which fill the surrounding premises of all native huts and dwellings, to the reconstruction of streets and roads, and the filling up of swampy districts and the levelling of the beds of streams. Their labours have already, according to a recent report, resulted in the diminution of the number of mosquitoes, and also apparently in the number of cases of malarial fever; but the period during which their operations have been proceeding has been so short that it is not yet time to judge of results.

But if no other result be obtained than the education of the native to the observance of modern sanitary principles, an immense amount of good will have resulted. But this is not all that is expected: much more is looked forward to: especially the diminution in the number of cases of malarial fever, which have earned for this town the appellation of "the white man's grave." It seems reasonable to expect that Sierra Leone will in the near future be made as habitable for Europeans as the healthiest towns of India.

Other parts of the Coast are being taken in hand in the same

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way. An expedition has recently been despatched to the Gold Coast and Ashantee to undertake "clearing" operations in that large and important extent of country, while a further expedition for a similar purpose is shortly to be sent to Bathurst on the Gambia River, where there is at present a small expedition investigating the prevailing conditions. In the meantime, following the lead received from the School of Tropical Medicine, the capable Governor of Lagos, Sir William McGregor, has undertaken the carrying out of these "clearing" measures in his district with zeal and dispatch.

Although the principle of segregation of Europeans experienced some resistance at first, probably on account of the expense and difficulty of its execution in many instances, it has been of great interest to observe how in recent reports from the Coast, and especially the large towns of the Coast, have continued allusions been made in some quarters to its being adopted. It is expected by the propagators of these measures, that it will gradually and slowly be followed, and together with the very active movement at present on foot to drain the surface and to exterminate mosquitoes, result in a most desirably better health condition in West Africa. Besides these general methods for the prevention of Malarial Fever, the various expeditions have strongly urged the importance of personal efforts in the same direction. They have pointed out how Europeans in West Africa have not yet learned the ways and means to that comfort of living experienced by Europeans in India. They have particularly pointed out how the mosquito curtains as used in West Africa are almost useless, in fact since they are so often arranged as to catch and keep mosquitoes inside, they become almost a danger; that punkahs and fans &c., are but little used, that the mosquito-proof house, the windows, doors, and other openings of which are protected by wire gauze, have been almost unknown; that over-indulgence in both eating and drinking is common among Europeans, and that systematic, moderate, and gentle exercise is seldom taken. All these factors combine to render the European an easy prey to the parasite of Malarial Fever brought to him by numerous mosquitoes, by which his habitation is usually frequented.

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In consequence of the energetic action of the School, these points are now receiving an active attention not only among the Europeans in West Africa but also by their employers at home: and moreover the principles recommended for the prevention of Malarial Fever and for the destruction of mosquitoes are being carried out in other distant parts of the world, especially in Hongkong, the United States, and other places; and also in many districts where Malarial Fever does not exist, with a view of exterminating the annoying insects.

Several other problems, besides those already alluded to, have been undertaken during the expeditions to the Coast. The object has been chiefly to improve the condition of the natives, whose body appears to harbour animal parasites of all kinds from the parasite of Malarial Fever in the blood with its complicated life history to the simple round worm of the intestine whose life history is well known. It is anticipated that by such an improvement in the condition of the native and his education to an understanding of the vast importance of modern sanitation, a great advance also in the health of the European will be brought about. There can be no doubt that we are as yet ignorant of many of the ills which affect both the European and the native in tropical countries—the threshold only of the vast subject of Parasitology has only just been entered: the uncleanly habits of uneducated natives afford the most effective way by which infection with these parasites is rendered easy (Malarial Fever can certainly be regarded as a disease produced directly by lack of sanitary conditions). But while many of the ills to which the Europeans are exposed in these climates are conveyed to them from the natives, it is necessary to point out that, perhaps by their ignorance, but certainly by their neglect of simple sanitary measures and by their indifference to the security of comfort and healthy conditions, they have in a very great measure brought about the present condition of affairs. The problem of another disease—elephantiasis or filariasis—has been much studied during the recent expeditions, and it has been shown that this disease also is communicated by the mosquito, which carries the parasite of the disease from man to man,—the worm passing a portion of its life history and under-

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going certain changes toward maturity in the body of the insect. Those active measures already referred to as being at present taken against mosquitoes of all kinds, will also result in a very considerable diminution in the prevalence of this frightful disease amongst natives. The investigation of other parasitic diseases is also being undertaken, and especially of the parasite of the disease known as tropical anæmia, a parasite which appears to be very common amongst natives in Africa, the effects of which have not as yet received very much attention in that country. There is thus much more to be done in many directions, although much has already been started upon. The huge work of rendering West Africa healthy for both Europeans and natives is the task of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine; but they are dependent in their efforts largely upon the support of merchants and others at home interested in this tropical country and also upon the help and friendly attention of the natives themselves.

H. E. ANNETT.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Since the above paper was written, the following information of a new malarial discovery has been received.

Major Ronald Ross, who is directing the Malaria Expedition of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine now engaged in investigations on the West Coast of Africa, sends the following message to Sir Alfred Jones.

"I have great pleasure in informing you that Dr. Dutton has made a very important discovery at Bathurst. He has found a new kind of parasite which causes fever in human beings. The parasite is like the one which causes the fatal tsetse fly disease among horses in South Africa."

Evidence that the destroying of the Malarial Mosquito has a marked effect in improving the health in tropical countries is shown by the following report from the Island of Cuba.

"Mosquito-hunting has had marvellous effects in Cuba. Yellow fever and malaria are disappearing, and the 'Pearl of the Antilles' is now 'fit for an Anglo-Saxon population.' In

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October, 1900, there were seventy-four deaths from yellow fever; in 1901 no deaths and no cases. Dr. Grogas, of the United States Army, writes: 'The disappearance of yellow fever is, I think, almost altogether due to the killing of the infected mosquitoes at the infected point. We do this by burning pyrethrum powder in the infected house and all the neighbouring houses. It has been extremely gratifying to see how promptly the focus of infection is stamped out in this way.' Sanitation is being carried out energetically in Cuba all round and in a few years the invasion of the American Army into Cuba will have saved more lives than it cost."

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A CENTURY OF EXPLORATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY GEORGE LACY

THE course of the early exploration of the great countries now added to the British Empire is, strangely enough, perhaps less known than that of any other part of the world, unless it be South America. Livingstone we know, and Moffat we know, as well as Selous, and some have heard of Oswell, Chapman, Andersson, and Baines. But what do the names of Campbell, Hume, Scoon, Edwards, Wilson, Green, Phillips, Erskine, Strombom, Hartley, Erickson and Wood convey to the general public? Even to the student they are mostly unknown. And yet it is these men, far more than any others, with the exceptions of Chapman, Andersson, Selous, and Oswell, who were the real pioneers of South Africa. Save the Rev. J. Campbell, none of them published books, but all barring Hartley, Strombom, and Wood left literary remains of one kind or the other, though a good deal of it never found its way into print.

Indeed, so little is known concerning the progress of discovery that the first crossing of the Orange River is always wrongly stated, both as to date and person. It is usually attributed to Col. R. J. Gordon, in 1777. As a matter of fact Gordon never crossed the river at all. He reached it in the neighbourhood of Colesberg, but owing to its flooded state was unable to cross over. It had actually been crossed a long way to the west, and no great distance from its mouth, seventeen years before—in 1760. The honour belongs to an elephant hunter named Jacobus Coetsee, who penetrated about fifty miles into Great Namaqualand. He was an illiterate, superstitious man, and brought back such strange stories about the country and its people and animals, that the Dutch Government organised a

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party under Hendrik Hop to verify them. This party reached the Fish River, in lat. 26° 18′. Hop's reports were unfavourable, and for thirty years no attempt was made to attain a higher latitude. In 1792, however, a party under W. Van Reenen penetrated as far as the spot where Rehoboth now stands, where they remained while one of their number named Peter Brand continued to the north for fourteen days, and reached the country of the Berg Damaras, where Great Barmen afterwards arose. No one reached a higher latitude on the west coast until Charles Andersson's time, some sixty years afterwards. Their object was the search for minerals, but only copper ore was discovered.

In the centre of the continent the first crossing was accomplished by the Rev. R. Anderson in 1799, at what is now called Little Bend. He reached Griqua Town. Two years later a Government expedition under Dr. Somerville and P. J. Truter crossed at the same place, and discovered the great Baralong town of Lattaku. The blue Wildebeest (brindled gnu), Burchell's zebra, and the impahlah were first shot by members of this expedition. On its return the Orange River was followed for 300 miles to the west.

Seven years after the return of this expedition, the Government fitted out another, with orders to attempt to get right across to Mozambique. It consisted of Dr. Cowan and Lieut. Donovan of the 83rd Regt., two or three men of the regiment, and a colonist named Kruger. This man was an elephant hunter, who had wandered all over the known parts of Bechuanaland. He had been with Somerville, and also with Lichtenstein n the Cape Colony. The Rev. R. Anderson accompanied the party as far as lat. 24° 30′, long. 28°, in the Waterberg district of the Transvaal, when he returned. This expedition occupies a similar position in the history of South African exploration to that of Leichardt in the history of Australian travel. After the return of Mr. Anderson nothing more was ever heard of it. All manner of stories have been circulated as to its fate. Moffat, and Theal the historian, favour the view that the party actually reached Mozambique, and perished there of fever, but there is not a shred of evidence in support of it. On the other hand, there is positive evidence that it was massacred on the Limpopo, at the spot now known as Selika. Livingstone heard the story

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from the son of the chief concerned, and I myself have heard it in the same place. Moreover Capt. C. W. H. Donovan, who was recently killed in West Africa, told me that he had obtained from the people of the district several relics, consisting of a number of regimental buttons, a pencil case with crest, some links of gold chain, and two bladeless pocket knives. The party was massacred while bathing.

Dr. Burchell was the next explorer of note. He reached a point about 100 miles north-west of Old Lattaku, starting in 1811. He collected 7000 plants, discovered the white rhinoceros, and produced what is unquestionably the best illustrated book of travel ever published. But as an explorer he was far outshone by the Rev. J. Campbell, who made two important journeys. In 1815 he explored the whole of southern Bechuanaland, including the districts on the Hartz River, and westward for 500 miles along the Orange River to Pella. In 1820 he was still more venturesome. He travelled due north, and discovered the Setlagoli, Meritsani, and Molappo Rivers. Some miles to the north of the last named, and no great distance from the present town of Mafeking, he found the great Kraal of Kuratchani, containing upwards of 15,000 people of the Bahurutsi tribe. It was destroyed by the Mantati hordes about two years afterwards. Campbell was certainly the greatest of all the central South African explorers until the advent of David Hume and Robert Scoon, though it is believed that he owed much of his success to the Rev. W. Read, who was with him throughout. However Campbell wrote the books, and obtained the credit. It may be mentioned that he correctly locates the Mashona people by name, although recent travellers, like Lionel Decle and others, declare the name to be only an English corruption, first used by the Matabili elephant hunters, of the Zulu word *amaswimi*, swine, the term of contempt the Matabili warriors apply to the Mashonas.

Except that a couple of elephant hunters, P. Bester and G. Kruger, entered Basutoland in 1821, and the Rev. R. Moffat crossed the Molappo to Kanye 1827, nothing was now done in the centre of the continent for several years. True, an outlaw named Conrad du Buis, who since about 1790 had lived with the eastern Kaffirs, went north, and after many adventures as a free-

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booter, and as chief of small native tribes, made his way along the Limpopo, and, as a chief, lived for many years at the back of Zoutpansberg; but men of this description can hardly be termed explorers. But in 1824 Natal began to be explored by Farewell and his party of colonists, who also extended their travels into Zululand, and two of them, John Cane and John Ross, as far as Delagoa Bay. Farewell and Cane were also the first to travel from the Cape Colony to Natal through Pondoland, the former having gone for supplies, and the latter as an envoy of the great Zulu chieftain 'Tchaka, for all these early Natal Colonists became chiefs of tribes, and lived as strange lives as ever fell to the lot of white men. It has however to be said that these men were not the first white residents of Natal, for nearly 150 years before three vessels had been wrecked, and the crews wandered about, some towards Mozambique, and some south towards the Cape, while others built a boat and reached Cape Town. Twenty-one of the wanderers were eventually rescued, but a few turned Kaffirs, and with another, who had been put ashore off a passing vessel for mutiny, were living near Durban Bay in 1705. Many light coloured Kaffirs may still be found in this district.

In 1829 an important journey was made in the centre of the continent by two traders, David Hume and Robert Scoon, who started independently of each other but met and joined forces. Each was accompanied by a missionary, who hearing of the expedition asked to be allowed to join—Hume by Rev. J. Archbell, and Scoon by Rev. R. Moffat. They started from Kuruman, where Hume kept a store, and joined at Mosego, a Kaffir location a little south of Zeerust, from whence they turned eastwards and reached the place where Umziligazi, the renegade Zulu general who founded the Matabili nation, was then living, midway between Pretoria and Rustenburg. These were the first white men the Matabili had seen, for Umziligazi had fled from Zululand seven years before the advent of Farewell's party. Twenty-five years afterwards Mr. Moffat was also one of the first two white men who saw Umziligazi at his subsequent capital, Inyati, near Buluwayo, where he lived for thirty years, Moffat being taken there by S. H. Edwards.

Both Hume and Scoon became very active after this. In 1830

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Hume revisited Umziligazi at his Kraal, followed the Limpopo to its junction with the Notuani, crossed over, and discovered in succession the Mahalapsi, Macloutsi, and Shashi rivers, and returning by way of the Waterberg explored the country to the east of Pretoria. This was the most important journey yet made in South Africa, and Hume's furthest north was not exceeded until 1847. Yet who has heard of it? Hume's diary is still in existence, but the individual who possesses it refuses either to give it up or publish it, although it was originally relinquished by Hume expressly for the purpose. In 1831 Hume was at a Bahurutsi town on the site of the present Mafeking, and two years later at Melita, the hitherto unvisited chief town of the great Bawangketsi tribe. From Melita he travelled north, and was the first white man to enter the Bamangwato country and visit Shoshong. This northerly point was not passed until Oswell made his journey to Lake N'Gami in 1849. In 1834, and again in 1835, he revisited Shoshong, the latter journey being made with Scoon, and also explored the Magaliesberg and the country north-east of Pretoria to the Oliphants River. Before Scoon visited Shoshong in company with Hume he too had made an important journey. He travelled right through the Transvaal from west to east, discovered Lake Chrissie, and descended the Drakensberg into the Swazi country. Then he turned north, and travelled on until he reached the Zoutpansberg range. He explored nearly the whole length of the Oliphants River until it falls over the Drakensberg, and also discovered the Silati and Letaba Rivers. Scoon published several articles in the *Cape Magazine* of the time.

In 1835, Henry Ogle, one of Farewell's party, and Capt. Gardiner succeeded in reaching the Drakensberg from Durban, and the following year Capt. Harris, the first to bring to our knowledge that grandest of all bucks, the sable antelope, travelled through the centre of the Orange River Colony to the Magaliesberg, Hume and Scoon having taken the route from Bechuanaland to the west. In 1837 the two first parties of emigrant Boers reached Zoutpansberg, and from that place one of the parties crossed the Limpopo, and though consisting of 49 persons with fifteen wagons was never heard of again; and the other followed that river towards Delagoa Bay, on which

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journey nearly all perished, only a few women and children surviving out of the fifty. The same year Capt. Alexander reached Walvisch Bay from Cape Town.

For a dozen years exploration was now in abeyance. A good many sportsmen, like the two Bains (no relations), Gordon Cumming, Vardon, Oswell, Methuen, and others hunted in the countries opened up by Hume and Scoon, but they added nothing to our knowledge. Only a Commando of Boers under Hendrik Potgieter, in search of the Matabili in 1847 exceeded Hume's furthest north in the Shashi district. They reached the Matoppo Hills. But in 1849 the first of the great expeditions which travelled beyond Hume's limits started. It was fitted out by W. C. Oswell, and he took Livingstone with him as interpreter. A trader, J. H. Wilson, also joined him. The discovery of Lake N'Gami was the result of this journey. In a Cape paper, Wilson claimed to be the real discoverer, affirming that Oswell followed him, and not he Oswell. Livingstone, however, took all the credit to himself. In his son's recently published life of his father, it is plainly shown how Oswell's family and friends resented Livingstone's pretensions, though he himself, partly from modesty and partly from a distorted kind of chivalry, would not say a word against them. The son writes that they "chafed at the delay, and at his supineness in claiming his share of the credit and honour of an expedition and a discovery of which he had been the leader and moving spirit, and of which all the world was talking." Many similar expressions will be found in the letters of his relations and friends now published. When, the following year, Livingstone tried to reach the Zambesi by himself, he was only able to get a little way up the Tamalukan, when he returned. It was not until the year afterwards (1851), when Oswell again accompanied him, that he reached the Zambesi. But of this more anon.

From 1850 quite a little army of explorers was let loose in South Africa. In the west Hans Larsen, a Dane, and one of Africa's very mightiest hunters, who had been busy for several years and had succeeded in reaching Gobabis, midway between Walvisch Bay and Lake N'Gami, was now of great use to Charles Andersson and Galton in their fine journey to Ovampoland, which extended to Ondonga, the town of Nangoro the

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chief of that nation. Travelling in the west was much more difficult than in the centre, because no trek oxen could be obtained, but only unbroken animals which had to be trained. The only wagon taken by the party also broke down on the borders of Ovampoland, and the remaining 250 miles of the journey was done on oxback. On their return they made an attempt to reach N'Gami, but got no further than Tunobis, 150 miles further than Larsen.

While Galton and Andersson were upon this enterprise two other very important ones were being carried through in the centre of the continent. The great traveller, Samuel H. Edwards (still living), second among South African explorers only to James Chapman, even if to him, had taken up his harness. In company with Wilson, already referred to, he had visited Lake N'Gami, and then he turned northwards along the Tamalukan, which had beaten Livingstone the previous year, for several weeks, and hunted elephants about the Mababi Flats and on the Machabi River. If they had not delayed thus, the credit of the discovery of the Zambesi would have belonged to them, instead of to Oswell and Livingstone. As it was, they continued on their way to the north, and reached the Chobi branch of that River at Linyanti, the town of Sibituani, the great Mantati chief who founded the so-called Makololo nation, only to find that these two had preceded them by about the time they had delayed in hunting. They had met Oswell north of Mangwato, and Livingstone in his journal rejoices that they had turned westward, as "it would enable us to reach Sibituani before the trading party"! Later he wrote: "God seemed kindly to reserve the honour of reaching Sibituani first for us"! Edwards did not, as did Oswell, continue due north, but followed the Chobi east to the junction with the main branch of the Zambesi, and then back a considerable distance to the west of Linyanti.

Oswell, instead of going to N'Gami like Edwards, had continued straight to the north from the great bend of the Botletli, and by way of the 'Ntwetwe salt pans passed the eastern skirts of the Mababi Flats. From Linyanti he crossed the Chobi, and struck the Zambesi at Sheshiki. The whole credit of the discovery of this river in the centre of the continent has been claimed by, and accorded to Livingstone, but in no sense did it

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belong to him. He was Oswell's guest. Oswell provided him with a new wagon, he having none of his own, and paid the whole of the expenses, and, what is more, travelled ahead over the desert portions of the route and opened up water holes for him. But Oswell would never put in the slightest claim for any fraction of the honour, and carried this resolve so far, that, in after years, when ill, he actually had his diaries destroyed, lest some one should obtain possession of and publish them to the prejudice of Livingstone's fame! This may be called very chivalrous, though it is hard to see why; but it is not the way history has to be written. Oswell was a most admirable character, as his now published life reveals, but in many respects he was a counterpart of Quixote.

The year 1852 was full of activity. James Chapman, the greatest of all South African travellers, began his work by a journey which took him within seventy miles of Victoria Falls. As far as 'Ntwetwe Salt Pans his route was the same as that of Oswell of the previous year, but instead of turning to the north-west from them he travelled to the north-east. Owing to the wretched editing of Chapman's book, the narrative is a very confused one, but he appears to have proceeded by way of Metsi Botluko and Thama Setsi until he was close to Daka, and within sight of the great columns of spray rising from the falls, though he does not appear to have seen them. Edwards at the same time, with Wilson and F. Green, was making another important but disastrous journey, during which he explored the northern shores of N'Gami, and discovered the Teoghi River (Okovango) which he ascended for a considerable distance. The party, however, got into fly country, and lost nearly the whole of their cattle and horses, and had to abandon their wagons. During the same year three other notable journeys were made, all in the Kalahari Desert. Joseph McCabe, trader, hunter, and botanist, went from Kolobeng (Sichili's) direct to N'Gami, instead of taking the roundabout route by way of the Botletli River. He was nineteen days without water, his oxen and himself eating the wild water-melons as a substitute. This is the longest period which any traveller in any part of the world has been enabled to exist without water. The lengthiest periods for which men have been without moisture of any kind

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for their animals have been, Edwards, in 1856, eight days; Charles Andersson, in 1858, seven days; and Eyre, in the Australian Bight in 1840, six and a half days.

The other two journeys were by Moyle and Dyme, who also suffered great hardships, from Kolobeng to Ghanzi, and thence north-east to N'Gami; and by Capt. Shelley and H. Orpen who travelled from Kuruman due north through the desert, crossed McCabe's route and reached the Loubli Pits in the heart of the desert, nearly on the Tropic of Capricorn. There Shelley lost himself and never found the wagons again, but pluckily made his way back on foot to Kuruman, some 400 miles, arriving there nearly naked after fearful hardships.

In 1853 Chapman was on the Chobi considerably to the west of Linyanti; Livingstone reached the Zambesi by himself and followed it up from Sheshiki to Lialui, the Barotsi capital. He had followed nearly the same route as before. Charles Andersson also at last succeeded in attaining Lake N'Gami from Walvisch Bay, a feat all the hunters and traders believed to be impossible.

The following year was an eventful one, and was marked by a journey which eighteen months later culminated in the first crossing of Africa. Not by Livingstone though, as is generally believed, for this is another of the claims made by him to which he has no title. The credit of the performance belongs to Chapman and Edwards. Chapman had been Chief Clerk in the Office for Native Affairs in Natal, but not liking the occupation went to Pochefstroom in 1850, and opened a store there, being the first English storekeeper in the Transvaal. But even this life was too sedentary for him, and he was usually away on short hunting expeditions and collecting the fauna of the country, for he was a good naturalist. Edwards, whose father lived with Livingstone as senior missionary, had been in college in Port Elizabeth, and left there in 1846 for Mabotsa, and in 1848 commenced travelling about as a hunter and trader. In 1854 the two entered into partnership, and fitting themselves out at Fauresmith started upon what proved to be the most eventful and dramatic expedition ever undertaken in South Africa. At Kuruman the Rev. R. Moffat hearing that they would probably visit Matabililand asked to be allowed to join them, and found

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a home in one of Edwards's wagons. At Mangwato (Shoshong) they separated for a while, Chapman going to N'Gami to trade with Lechulatibe, and Edwards north-eastwards to Matabililand. No one had made any attempt to enter this country before. Edwards discovered in succession all the rivers from the Tati to the Shangani, about which river, after leaving Moffat with Umziligazi at Inyati, eighty miles north-east of Buluwayo, he hunted for three months, and then started back to Mangwato. Chapman had meanwhile been very active, for he had been to N'Gami, then returned along the Botletli and from its great bend struck right across the desert and discovered the Gwai, from whence he made another desert journey over new ground to Shoshong, which Edwards reached almost at the same time. Moffat returned to Kuruman, taking with him a great quantity of ivory the produce of the hunters' guns, and Chapman and Edwards turned once more to the north. At Chenamba Hills they lost all their horses from the sickness, and Chapman remained there elephant-hunting, while Edwards went on once more to the Zambesi, partly to take stores for Livingstone to Shesheki. There he was brought nearly to death's door by fever, but managed to struggle back to Chapman's camp. At Koobi Wells in the desert he halted to recuperate, while Chapman trekked again to N'Gami, where finding F. Green and Professor Wahlberg the three went up the Teoghi (Okovango) and reached a point considerably further than that of Edwards and Wilson in 1852. Edwards, fully recovered, soon arrived at the Lake, and the partners turning their faces to the westward, after a long and laborious journey full of hardships arrived at Walvisch Bay in October 1855, theirs being the first wagons ever taken through this country, for Andersson, Green, and Wahlberg had done the greater part of the journey on oxback. If any one will take a map and follow all these routes he will, I think, be amazed that such immense distances should have been covered, through absolutely unknown and often waterless country, within eighteen months. This was the first crossing of Africa, Chapman having started from Durban and Edwards from Port Elizabeth, the intervening years having been spent exploring in the centre of the continent. On his journey which has always been called the

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first crossing, and which Livingstone vehemently claimed as such even after the publication of Chapman's book, he did not start from Loando until August 1855, and arrived at Quillimane about a year afterwards—more than nine months later than the conclusion of Chapman's and Edwards' journey.

The year 1855 was also notable for the discovery of the Victoria Falls by Livingstone on his way along the River. Chapman, Edwards, Wilson, Oswell, and a man named Simpson, who traded to Linyanti in 1852, had also been within less than 100 miles of them, but none had seen them. Chapman in 1853 had actually taken a boat to visit them, but rumours of Matabili raids frightened his Makololo boatmen, and they refused to proceed. Livingstone's further contributions to the exploration of South Africa, by which is meant Africa south of the Zambesi, were limited to the country on the immediate south bank of the Zambesi between the Umsengesi river, where he crossed over from the north, to Tete.

During the same year F. Green, Wilson, and Wahlberg, travelled up the Teoghi to Andara, at the point where the river suddenly turns from east to south. It was quite twenty years before any other traveller got beyond Andara. Green then returned to Walvisch Bay, and in 1857 with the Rev. C. H. Hahn traced the course of the Omaramba Ovampo, and discovered Lake Onondava, and then continued on to Nangoro. But a still more important journey was performed by Andersson. He tried to get through the Kaoka, or Western Damara country, but so waterless was the country, and so thick the trees, that even he was beaten. On one occasion his oxen were six days without water and his horses seven, and as many as 1500 trees were cut down in one day's march. Andersson then turned his attention to discovering the Okovango, which he believed to be the Cunene, or some other great river flowing west. It was one of the most arduous journeys ever undertaken, through one vast bush without any permanent waters. Andersson calculated that between the Omaramba U'Ovampo and the Okovango 200,000 trees were felled. He was surprised to find the latter flowing east, and took it to be the Chobi: it proved to be the Teoghi, which filled N'Gami. The party were laid up with fever, and for many months were helplessly stuck a little to the south of

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the Okovango. A messenger was sent to the settlements, and F. Green, who had been hunting in Matabililand and had just returned, started to their relief and brought them out. Green had travelled over 2000 miles this year (1859).

In 1860 W. C. Baldwin was the first to reach the Victoria Falls from the south, though he travelled over little new ground, while Waddington and Addersley marked a new route—from Angra Pequina to N'Gami. The following year H. Chapman, a brother of James, although he traversed little virgin country, performed the remarkable feat of crossing Africa both ways within a year—from Walvisch Bay to Port Elizabeth and back. 1862 was the year of Chapman and Baines' big journey from Walvisch Bay to the Victoria Falls. The intention had been to continue down the Zambesi to Quillimane, and a boat had been brought up for the purpose, but at Sinimani the whole party was stricken down with fever, and further progress became impossible. The year 1864 was noted for the successful journey of Dr. Palgrave to the Okovango, via Ondongo, a long way westward of Andersson's point; and for the reaching of the Cunene, 100 miles from its mouth, by Lewis, Todd and Smuts, three elephant hunters. As this had baffled Andersson, great credit must be given to the feat. The following year F. Green also accomplished it, but struck the river a good deal to the east of Lewis' point. In 1865 H. Hartley, the great elephant hunter, was the first who was allowed by Umziligazi to enter Mashonaland, and got as far as the Umfuli River. R. Struben also travelled from Pretoria to Gazaland, being the first white man to see Umzila, the great Gaza Chieftain. Two years afterwards Anderson and Axel Erickson made their way to the head waters of the Cunene, where the former died; G. A. Phillips discovered Zimbabwe; the Rev. T. H. Thomas travelled through north Matabililand to the Zambesi eastwards of the Gwai river, and R. Benningfield ascended the Great Sabi from its mouth.

The year 1868 was also one of much activity. In the east R. Dubois traversed the low country from the river Usutu to the Limpopo, and St. Vincent Erskine, whom he joined, traced the course of the latter river from the junction with the Oliphant to its mouth, upsetting all the previous theories of the geographers.

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In the centre H. Hartley reached the Manyami River, and a few weeks later G. A. Phillips and G. Westbeech crossed it and continuing to the east discovered the Mazoe; while G. Wood made a great circuit in Southern Mashona and Matabili-lands, and crossed the central courses of the Lundi, the Ingwesi, and other rivers. In the west F. Green made another big journey, and from the settlements in Damaraland travelled right through Ovampoland until he reached the head waters of the Chobi. This was perhaps his most important journey, and is unfortunately one of the few of which he left no account. It was also his last journey in virgin country. Green shot over 500 elephants, a bag exceeded by no one but H. Hartley, who killed 600. Green was also a great man of war, and led the armies of the Damaras in their wars with the Namaquas and Hottentots; he only once visited civilized parts from the time when, in 1852, he left Port Elizabeth for the interior, until he died in Damaraland in 1876.

The year 1869 was marked by Hartley and Baines reaching Lo Magundi, the chief who in after years gave us such a lot of trouble; by T. Leask and Dr. Coverley exploring the Gwai from its source to its embouchment with the Zambesi; and by the ascent of the Bubye by Button. Then Baines and Hartley made their way from the Manyami south of the head waters of the Great Sabi; and Capt. Elton traced the Limpopo from Tuli to the junction of the Oliphants River.

During 1871 and 1872 Erskine made quite a network of new routes in Gazaland, the Harmi River being his furthest point north, between which and the Limpopo he traversed the country in all directions. At the same time Carl Mauch was making a fine journey from the Limpopo, via Zimbabwe and the Mazoe, to Sena on the Zambesi. In the centre another new man was at work, John Strombom, who after making a fresh route from N'Gami direct to Ovampoland which had been unsuccessfully attempted by Chapman, Baines, Green, and Andersson, travelled up the Teoghi past Andara and connected Green and Wilson's furthest west with Andersson's furthest east. Some years afterwards he ascended the Zambesi past Lialui, then the Kabombo to its head waters in the very heart of the continent, a point which I believe has never been revisited by any white

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man, at all events not until the last year or two, but the journey is outside the scope of this paper.

It was not until 1878 that F. C. Selous did any pioneering work in South Africa. He had crossed over the Zambesi at Wanki's, and following it to the Kafue continued north-westward until he was well north-east of the Mashukulumbwe country, where being robbed and ill he retreated, and recrossing the Zambesi travelled up the river Umē to Inyati. This was the first time central Matabililand was traversed north and south. The following year he was on the Chobi, following it up to Mai-ini, the furthest point yet reached westwards. In 1880 he explored unknown portions of the Manyami, the Umfuli below Lo Magondi's, the whole of the Umniati and Umswizi rivers, and the country to where Salisbury now stands.

About the same time the Rev. W. Law, Hedley, and De Sadlier, lay missionaries, made a very important journey. From Buluwayo they trekked to the Great Sabi and into Manicaland. They abandoned their wagons near the site of the present town of Umtali, and continued on foot south to the Kraal of Umzila, the Gazaland chief. Here Law died, but Hedley and De Sadlier made their way east to Sofala, and thence returned to Buluwayo. This was a big journey in entirely new country, which was not again trodden for several years.

In 1882 Selous reached the Umsengesi, the next eastward affluent of the Zambesi from the Manyami, and followed it to the great river, up which he then ascended to Zumbo, which had not been visited since Livingstone was there, and then ascended the Manyami to where the Dandi joins it, continuing his way along the latter river for some distance until he again turned westward to the Manyami. The whole of his route was an untrodden one, for Livingstone had been on the north side of the Zambesi. The following year, visiting the Mazoe he turned south, and for the first time the Great Sabi was traced as far as the Odzi, Law having only crossed over it. In 1884 Montagu Kerr was the first to reach Tete from Mashonaland.

In the west travel had been rather quiet during this time. Father Duparquet had followed a new route to the Cunene: Lord Mayo, some missionaries and elephant hunters, had made minor journeys in untrodden districts, but nothing of prominence

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was done by any one but Axel Erickson. This enterprising Swede had been trained by Charles Andersson, after whose death he was elephant hunting for a good many years, and also kept a store at Omaruru. In 1882 he explored a large extent of country north of the Cunene, and three years later was the first to travel from Ovampoland down the whole length of the Okovango to Lake N'Gami, whence he went to the Transvaal. This is the route now always followed, as it avoids the waterless deserts of Namaqua and Damara-lands. In 1886 he left Omaruru for the north, and succeeded after great difficulties, in having to cut a road through the bush for hundreds of miles, in reaching Mossamedes. This was a remarkable journey, which he afterwards repeated.

There was little left to do in South Africa after this. Selous travelled from Quillimane via the Mazoe to the Manyami, and back by a more southern route in 1889, and in 1890 led the Pioneers from Tuli via Zimbabwe (mostly new ground) to Salisbury, and afterwards explored the Pungwe and the other rivers of the east between Sofala and Beira. Only the upper Chobi was left, and this has recently been followed by a party of English, but particulars have not been published.

At the opening of the century South Africa north of the Orange River was unknown; in the middle no one had penetrated more than a few miles north of the Limpopo; at the end the whole country to the Zambesi teems with the beginnings of civilization.

GEORGE LACY.

HEATHERSIDE, WORPLESDON, SURREY,
Nov. 23rd, 1901.

TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR SIR,—I have read Mr. Lacy's paper, and his history is in the main correct; but I do not know whether or no he is justified in making the statements he does concerning Dr. Livingstone. It is all very well to say that Oswell fitted out the expedition which discovered Lake N'gami in 1849; but without Livingstone I doubt very much whether Oswell would ever have reached the lake at all; for Livingstone brought a vast amount of experience to his assistance; he understood and spoke the Sechwana language perfectly; understood the native character thoroughly, and by and through this knowledge was able to get guides through the waterless tract of country

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lying between Soshong and the Batletli river. Moreover, Livingstone travelled with his own ox-cart. My opinion is that in the journeys on which Oswell and Livingstone travelled together, Livingstone's experience of African travel, and thorough knowledge of native character and language, was worth more than Oswell's money. I look upon Livingstone as one of the greatest of explorers, though there were points in his character which I do not admire. There are one or two historical criticisms which I could make. For instance, Marthinus Swart and his sons hunted elephants in what is now called Mashonaland in 1859, and therefore preceded H. Hartley. Again, John Strombom (whom I knew intimately from 1873 to shortly before his death in 1889) never went near the head waters of the Kabompo. In 1886, I think, he went a trading expedition to Lialui; and after he had finished his trading with Lewanika, accompanied that chief on his annual big hunt after Lechwe antelopes. Strombom told me all about it only a few months afterwards, and told me he was only away from Lialui for a few days, and that he and Lewanika rode horses all the time. However, except for the very strong, and, I think, unjust bias against Dr. Livingstone in Mr. Lacy's record, and a few small errors, I think there is a great deal of matter which is of historical interest, and which is not generally known. The subject of the exploration of South Africa from the Orange River northwards is one to which I know that Mr. Lacy has devoted much time for many years past, and he has read up many old books and manuscripts which throw light on the subject. He also got a lot of information from Mr. S. H. Edwards, George Phillips, and old traders and hunters whom I also knew very well.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
F. C. SELOUS.

GRAFTON HOUSE, SANDGATE,
Nov. 25th, 1901.

TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR SIR,—Referring to Mr. Selous' letter, I do not quite understand upon what grounds and by what right he charges me with being biassed against Livingstone. It is not a pleasant charge to have made against one. I have no bias whatever in the matter. I never knew Livingstone, and hero-worship being a thing I have nothing in my constitution to interpret, I care nothing for him one way or the other. In these and all other cognate matters, I am a mere cold-blooded historian who sifts and weighs all evidence available.

The specific points I made were: 1. That Livingstone was not the first to cross Africa. On this point it is surely idle to quarrel with chronology. Chapman, starting from Durban, reached Walfisch Bay *via* the Zambesi on October 1st, 1855; Livingstone starting from Loanda, reached Quillimane nine months later. The books of both travellers are available to the doubtful, and there is absolutely nothing more to be said in the matter. I have also in my possession Edwards' (who accompanied Chapman) manuscript notes of the journey.

2. That there is doubt whether Livingstone, Wilson, or Oswell was really the discoverer of Lake N'gami. The claim was made by both the former, and Oswell is silent, but his son and friends vehemently assert his claim to the honour, and his own writings tacitly admit it. Wilson, though a great traveller and explorer,—in South Africa quite as great as Livingstone—was not a man to whose word too great weight

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hould be attached; but, if we are to believe there the great South African historian, neither was Livingstone. Indeed, he habitually rejects the Doctor's testimony on all points, and says that "some of his statements have been proved over and over again to be incorrect." I have left the matter to be decided by each according to his "bias."

3. That Oswell, and not Livingstone, was the real discoverer of the Zambesi. On this point those who wish for the truth must read Oswell's Life. It is impossible for me to add anything to it. Livingstone acted as interpreter only, and so far from leading the way, it is distinctly stated that Oswell always went ahead to find and open the water-holes.

Mr. Selous sets me right on two historical points. In one case he is quite in the wrong; the other is one of those conflicts of evidence which confront all historians. He says that Martin Zwartz hunted in Mashonaland before H. Hartley. Mr. Selous has got confused. He (Selous) did not enter Matabililand until 1872, S. H. Edwards was there in 1854, and G. A. Phillips in 1864, and resided there continuously for thirty years; and I am sure even he will bow to their evidence. I have it in their handwriting that the first white man allowed by Umziligazi to cross the Ummati river and enter Mashonaland was H. Hartley, and that was in 1865. Zwartz was the first *Boer*, not the first white man by many, allowed to hunt in *East Matabililand*, but that was in 1862, not 1859, and he was not permitted in Mashonaland, and so far as I can find out, was never there at all, for in 1863 he shifted his field of operations to the Zambesi and Choebe, and remained there till his death.

Mr. Selous then says that John Strombom was never near the Kabompo. My informant was Mr. J. A. Nicolls, the founder of the West Chartered Company, who made more than one long journey with Strombom up the Okavango and in other directions, and was for a time in partnership with him. Mr. Nicoils knew Strombom a great deal better than Mr. Selous did, and—what can I say more? Lewanika was not there when Strombom arrived at Lialui, and he went after the chief; it was on their return to Lialui that the Letchwe hunt took place.

In conclusion, I think you will see that if I struck out all doubts as to Livingstone's claims to the achievements ascribed to him, the paper would not be historical at all. I have given my authorities, and it is for those who doubt my statements to controvert them. History cannot be written on the fetish-worship system, and it is no "attack" upon deceased historical characters to point out that later research proved them to have been accredited with achievements not rightly theirs.

I would suggest that both Mr. Selous' and this letter be attached as foot-notes.

Yours faithfully,

G. LACY.

P.S.—Writing the above, I accidentally gave March 1, 1856, as the date of Chapman's arrival at Walfisch Bay. It should be, as altered, October 1855, the other date was that of his arrival in Cape Town.

WORPLESDON, SURREY,
Dec. 14th, 1901.

DEAR SIR,—I have re-read Mr. Lacy's paper, and also the letter you were kind enough to send me, in which he criticises the remarks I made in my first note to you on the subject of Dr. Livingstone. I still think that Mr. Lacy's paper shows a strong bias against that great explorer. I hold no brief for Dr. Livingstone; in fact I

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believe with Dr. Theal, that, like the great majority of missionaries, when any dispute or conflict arose between natives and white men—whether the latter were Boers or British—he was too ready to accept the native version of the controversy as the truth; but surely if Dr. Livingstone was able single-handed, from the very moment when he parted with Mr. Oswell, to commence the great work of exploration north of the Zambesi, which won him so much fame, and which was carried on with such wonderful persistence and success until the day of his death in 1873, he must have been more than a mere servant and interpreter, on the two journeys when he travelled in company with that gentleman. I, at any rate, shall always hold the opinion on this subject, which I expressed to you in my first letter, that in the journeys which Livingstone and Oswell made together, the former's experience of African travel and thorough knowledge of native character and language, was worth a great deal more than the latter's money. I did not know that Dr. Livingstone had himself ever made any specific claim to being the first white man to cross Africa. He certainly was the first white man to cross Africa from Loanda to Quillimane, and the fact that Chapman reached Walfisch Bay by waggon from Durban a few months before the completion of Livingstone's great journey does not appear to me to detract from the value of that undertaking. Each of these journeys should be judged on their merits, and I think that most people would agree the crossing of tropical Africa from Loanda to Quillimane was a greater feat than the journeying by ox-waggon from Durban to Walfisch Bay.

I cannot discover from a perusal of "Missionary Travels," that Dr. Livingstone, as asserted by Mr. Lacy, took all the credit to himself, for the discovery of Lake N'gami. His own words on this subject—see page 65—are: "Twelve days after our departure from the waggons at Ngabisane, we came to the north-east end of Lake N'gami; and on the 1st of August, 1849, we went down together to the broad part, and for the first time, this fine looking sheet of water was beheld by Europeans." Below the picture too, which faces the next page, is written, "Lake N'gami, discovered by Oswell, Murray, and Livingstone"; Oswell's name being placed first, and Livingstone's last. As regards the discovery of the upper Zambesi, the whole credit for which Mr. Lacy says has been claimed by and accorded to Dr. Livingstone, I find that Livingstone says, on page 90 of "Missionary Travels": "Mr. Oswell and I then proceeded one hundred and thirty miles to the north-east, to Sesheke, and in the end of June 1851 we were rewarded by the discovery of the Zambesi in the centre of the continent." Whatever the feelings of Mr. Oswell's relations may be towards Dr. Livingstone, it seems difficult to believe that that gentleman ever imagined that he had any cause of complaint against his old comrade; for in his contribution to the Badminton Volume on Big Game Shooting, entitled, "South Africa, fifty years ago," he refers to Dr. Livingstone on page 87, as "the dear old Doctor"; whilst on page 119 he makes the somewhat significant remark, "Early in 1849, hearing that Livingstone intended making an attempt to reach Lake N'gami, Murray and I again left England to join him." In his chapter "With Livingstone in Africa," in the same volume, Oswell further says on page 143: "He (Livingstone) was eminently the 'justum et tenacem propositi virum,' on whom man or elements make but slight impression, yet strangely withal very enthusiastic. This nature fitted him for the successful traveller and trustworthy companion. His inner man and noble aspirations belong to the histories of his life. We were the firmest of friends, both a trifle obstinate, but we generally agreed to differ, and in all matters concerning the natives, I of course waived my crude opinions to his matured judgment. I had the manage-

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ment of the trekking and the cattle, after he with his great knowledge of the people and their language had obtained all the information he could about the waters, and the distances between them. This worked well." Those extracts are taken from Mr. Oswell's MS., the whole of which was published after his death in the Badminton Volume on Big Game Shooting, exactly as he left it, at the special request of his family (see Editor's note at the head of Chapter V.).

I now pass to Mr. Lacy's criticisms concerning what I wrote to you in regard to Marthinus Swart (not Zwartz; for Swart is the Boer equivalent for the German name Schwartz) and John Strombom. Mr. Lacy says that Marthinus Swart hunted elephants in north-east Matabililand in 1862, but never crossed the Ummati river, the dividing line between Matabililand and Mashonaland, and he tells me that this must be so, since he was told by Mr. S. H. Edwards and Mr. G. A. Phillips that H. Hartley was the first white man to cross the Ummati river, *i.e.* to enter Mashonaland. Well! Mr. S. H. Edwards visited Matabililand in company with the well-known missionary Robert Moffat in 1854, but he left that country soon afterwards, and never returned to it again for many years, not I think, till 1881 or 1882; so that I fail to see what is the value of Mr. Edwards' evidence concerning any hunting expedition undertaken by Marthinus Swart to the north-east of Matabililand in 1859 or 1862. Nor could Mr. G. A. Phillips, who only visited Matabililand for the first time in 1864, know, except by native report, exactly where Swart hunted five or two years previously. Mr. Edwards' evidence on the subject seems to me entirely valueless, and though Mr. Phillips might have found out in 1864 exactly where Swart hunted a few years previously, by questioning some of the natives who were with him, there is no reason to suppose that he ever thought of doing so, or ever even knew that Marthinus Swart had visited Matabililand some years before he himself first went to that country. On the other hand, Marthinus Swart told me himself that when he made his big hunt in Umziligazi's country, he left his waggons standing on the bank of the Ummati river by order of the chief, but hunted on horseback to the east of that river, *i.e.* in Mashonaland. The exact date of this expedition can be settled by reference to Mr. John Reid, of 79 Queen Street, London, E.C., who is now the senior partner in the firm of F. W. Reid and Co., of Potchefstroom, where he was living when Marthinus Swart brought his ivory down from Matabililand to the Transvaal. My impression is that Mr. Reid told me that his firm bought five waggon loads of very fine ivory from Marthinus Swart in 1860. The Rev. W. Tykes, of the Inyati Mission, also told me that Marthinus Swart passed his station both going to and coming from his hunting ground in 1859, at least, that is the date I have always carried in my mind in connection with this expedition. We know that Baldwin travelled with Marthinus Swart to Western Matabililand in 1858, but that neither of them were successful on that occasion in obtaining permission from Umziligazi to hunt elephants in his country. But in the following year Swart tried again, and he may have overcome all obstacles then. It seems scarcely likely that he should have gone on importuning Umziligazi for leave to hunt elephants from 1858 to 1862. However, my contention is that Marthinus Swart hunted elephants beyond Ummati river—that is in the country now known as Mashonaland—before H. Hartley, and it does not much matter whether he did this in 1859 or 1862, as the latte date is three years earlier than 1865. H. Hartley, I know very well, went much farther than Swart, but that is not the point of contention between Mr. Lacy and myself. Of course Mr. Lacy may think that Marthinus Swart lied to me, when he said that he had hunted beyond the Ummati river in 1859. The truth of the

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matter can now never be satisfactorily determined, but the evidence brought forward on the subject by Mr. Lacy appears to me to be quite unsatisfactory.

In the matter of Strombom's travels, I find that Mr. Lacy supports his assertion that John Strombom, at one time unstated, "ascended the Zambesi past Lialui, then the Kabompo to its head waters in the very heart of the continent," by a reference to the testimony of Mr. J. A. Nicolls, who, he says, "made more than one long journey with Strombom up the Okavango and in other directions." Mr. Nicolls was a lawyer living in Mafeking who made one journey into the interior in 1887. On that occasion he travelled to Moremi's new town called De Nokane, which had lately been established on the Okavango river, in consequence of the two Matabili raids which had been made on his former residence at Lake N'gami in 1883 and 1885. At that time, 1887, Strombom, who had lived at Lake N'gami for many years as a trader, had a store at De Nokane. Mr. Lacy tells me that Mr. Nicolls knew Strombom a great deal better than I did. This, however, is mere assertion. I first met Strombom in Matabililand in 1873, a long time before Mr. Nicolls ever saw him, and during the period intervening between that date and his death in 1889 or 1890, I met him on many occasions, and often spent several days together in his company in Matabililand, Bamangwato, Kimberley and Cape Town. I certainly knew him very well, and was always on the most friendly terms with him, and heard from his own lips a full account of all his experiences and travels. In 1886 Strombom went on a trading expedition to Lewanika, the chief of the Barotse. He did not reach Lialui till well on in the dry season and before the end of the year was in Bulawayo where I met him and discussed the incidents of his trip with him. Mr. Lacy is correct in saying that Lewanika was not at Lialui when Strombom arrived there. He joined him in the north of the Barotse Valley and took part with him in the annual hunt after Lechwe and Situtunga antelopes, and they subsequently returned to Lialui together so that the trading was done not before but after the journey to the north. On this expedition Strombom told me that he rode on horseback the whole way, which he could not have done, had he ascended the Kabompo, as there is Tse-tse fly along its course. It is quite possible that Strombom went as far north of Lialui as the point where the Kabompo enters the Zambesi; but it is quite impossible that in the short time he had at his disposal, he could have reached the source of the Kabompo, which is situated at a distance of over 300 miles as the crow flies to the north-east of Lialui, and would, of course, be very much farther by the winding course of the river. Strombom, moreover, was not equipped for such an expedition, and at that time his health was already failing, and I do not think that it would have been possible for him to have undertaken a long journey on foot at the hottest season of the year. I am quite sure that I am correct in stating that Strombom never approached the source of the Kabompo. I had his own testimony to this effect within a few weeks of the date when he re-crossed the Zambesi on his way to Bulawayo, and as Mr. Nicolls was not with him when he went to the Barotse country, I do not see of what value his evidence on this subject can be. To settle the matter, I will, however, write to Major Coryndon, the present Administrator of Barotseland, and ask him to ascertain the exact route followed by Strombom north of Lialui on the occasion of his visit to Barotseland.

There are a few more statements in Mr. Lacy's paper or letter to which I should like to draw his attention. He says that Mr. G. A. Phillips first went to Matabililand in 1864, and resided there continuously for thirty years. That is not a correct statement, since Phillips left Matabililand in 1889, and never afterwards returned to

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that country. He spent the greater part of twenty-five years in Matabililand. Again the mission station of Inyati where Mr. Edwards left Moffat with Umziligazi in 1854 or 1855, was not eighty miles north-east of the site of old Bulawayo, but about fifty. The new Bulawayo is just forty miles from Inyati. Perhaps, however, Mr. Lacy refers to Umziligazi's chief town "Gibbeclaik" which was situated farther west than the site of old Bulawayo. In speaking of the visit by Hartley and Baines to the petty chief Lo Magondi, Mr. Lacy says that this chief in after years gave us a lot of trouble. On this point Mr. Lacy is certainly in error. Lo Magondi, though a most importunate beggar, was a very harmless old man. He never gave any trouble to the Chartered Company, and was murdered by the order of Lo Bengula in December 1891, because he had given assistance to white men, shown them old gold workings, and allowed his people to work for them. I would not have troubled you with these last few remarks, but I know that Mr. Lacy is a stickler for absolute historical accuracy.

Yours very truly,
F. C. SELOUS.

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A VOCABULARY OF THE LOMWE DIALECT OF MAKUA (MOZAMBIQUE)

IN 1894, being then at Blantyre, B.C.A., I collected the following vocabulary from some members of a caravan who had arrived with loads of rice from the Lomwe country, to the east of Lake Chilwa. The men themselves were called Alolo, and, as I understood, were a subject race to the Anguru who occupied the same district. (It is curious that the *Balolo* on the Congo should occupy the same position: the point is worth investigating. The Balala among the Bechuana are another parallel, but one does not know whether a similarity of name can be insisted on in this case.) Their language was most certainly distinct both from Nyanja and Yao; it was variously called Chi-Nguru and Chi-Lolo; but I finally discovered that its most appropriate designation seemed to be "the Lomwe dialect of the Makua language." A Blantyre native told me that "Chi-Nguru was the same thing as Chi-Mang'anja" (*i.e.* Chi-Nyanja);—and this agrees with other statements as to the eastern extension of the Mang'anja tribes. (The Rev. D. C. R. Scott, in the preface to his *Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language*, says "The dialect of Anguru is but slightly modified Mang'anja.")

These Alolo were small, stunted, wiry men, whose appearance somewhat recalled Moffat's descriptions of the Balala. Their unkempt shocks of wool presented a striking contrast to the heads of both Yaos and Mang'anja, which are frequently shaved, and the hair usually clipped into all sorts of elaborate devices. Most of them were tattooed on the chest with what they said was the Alolo tribe mark: on either side a cresent-shaped cut, with two small vertical ones beneath it. Their only

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clothing was a sheet of bark-cloth (*nchila*, in Nyanja nkwende) round the waist, and in some cases another piece wrapped round the shoulders. They were always civil and friendly, and those of them who stayed on at Blantyre (being engaged to help in some building operations then going on) seemed cheerful and willing workers. Many of them had picked up a little Nyanja, which enabled me to question them. The late Rev. W. A. Scott, of Blantyre, and Mr. J. A. Reid at this time (August 1895) took a trip into the Lomwe country, a great part of which was then unvisited by Europeans. Starting from Domasi, they skirted the southern end of Lake Chilwa, and proceeded eastwards till they came in sight of the Namuli peaks, when increasing difficulties forced them to return. They found the natives in a chronic state of warfare among themselves, so much so that no one would ever venture more than a day's march from his home, and it was impossible to get guides save for short distances ahead. There was, naturally, under these circumstances no trade, and calico was very scarce in the country. The Doctor would relate humorously how a bag of oatmeal which he had left outside his tent one night was stolen, the thief carefully leaving the contents, which he did not require, in a little heap on the ground, while he made off with the precious cloth. Since that time, the Blantyre Mission has established two or three out-stations in the country, which appears now to be somewhat more settled.

At the time of drawing up this vocabulary, I had no books on the Makua language accessible. Some time later I obtained a short list of "Makua" words from a young woman at Durban, one of the freed slaves brought there in a British man-of-war, I think in 1873, who, kidnapped when a child, had at first quite forgotten her own language, but picked it up again through associating with some of her country people afterwards landed from H.M.S. *London*. Some of the words agreed with those obtained from the Alolo; others were quite different. They have been entered in square brackets, in the third column of the vocabulary; and it will be seen in many cases that they differ from those given by the late Bishop Maples, whose "Collections for a Handbook of the Makua Language" I have examined since returning to England. Besides there is a

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Makua Vocabulary in Senhor Ayres de Carvalho Soveral's *Breve Estudo sobre a ilha de Mocambique*[1] (Porto, 1887) and Mr. D. J. Rankin's *Arab Tales*, translated from the Swahili into the Tugulu dialect of the Makua language (London 1886). Tugulu differs considerably from Lomwe, but in the comparative vocabularies at the end of the book I find some corresponding with those given below, though a number, even of those marked as "Lomwe," are quite different.

The material I obtained was not sufficient to give me any insight into the grammar; but I gathered that there was a class of nouns with the prefix *e*, it certainly sounded so to me, but I see that Maples gives the same words as beginning with *i*: (*itepo*, *ihipa* &c.) corresponding to those which in Nyanja and Yao have dropped their prefix, and in Zulu have the prefix *i* (*in*, *im*). Also the infinitive prefix corresponding to the almost universal *ku* appeared to me to be *o*, though Maples gives it as *u*. (Some slight, but useful, grammatical notes are included in the "Collections.")

Father Torrend has remarked on the curious connexion between the languages of Mozambique and the Chwana in its various branches. One of the characteristics which they have in common is the preference for surds, whereas other languages have the corresponding nasalised sonant: *i.e. p.* for *mb* (*enupa*, *nyumba*), *t* for *nd* (*etepo*, *ndembo*), *k* for *ng* (*ekuo*, *nguo*). I was greatly puzzled by the word for "goat"—*epuri*; unable to believe it the same as the almost universal mbuzi, till I discovered the Suto lipuli. Unwritten languages shade off into one another through imperceptible local variations; I suppose my Alolo, being from the western part of their country and contiguous to the Zomba Yaos (or influenced by the Anguru to whom they were subject) had a tendency to modify this peculiarity and employed some transition forms, such as *enumpa*, where the *p*, though nasalised, is kept.

It only remains to say that the spelling adopted is phonetic, according to the rough and ready definition, "the vowels, as in Italian (or German)—the consonants as in English." *Ch* as in cherry. *Th*, where I have used it in the English *th*; those

[1] I have left the words quoted from this as they stand in the Portuguese spelling, which somewhat disguises them, and the accentuation is puzzling.

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seemed to me (but I am not sure whether I can trust my ear) a tendency to fluctuate between that sound and *s*: possibly the difference of enunciation may be due to different varieties of filed teeth, and I regret exceedingly that I did not make careful notes on this point. Some words I have written with *t* are spelt by others with *th*, this is probably the "explosive" *t* (sometimes written *t'*)—which I did not distinguish. The aspirate (which in Yao and Nyanja is absent) seems to be pretty frequent in Makua.

The words in the third column, as already stated, are those from the "Collections"; the fourth contains the nearest parallel to the Lomwe word I have been able to discover in any other African language.

	English.	Lomwe.	Maples.	
1	Man (homo)	matu, pl. matu	mtu, atu	Nyanja, muntu, Swahili, mtu
2	Man (vir)	mlupwana	mwamlopwana [mlupwana]	
3	Woman	mtiana, pl. atiana	mthiana [mtiana]	
4	Boy	muzombwe	mirao [mwamiravo]	Ny. mzombwe—a young man
5	Girl	namwali	mirao [mwauledi]	Yao, namwali; Zaramu, mwari
6	Child	mwana	mwamhima [mwana]	
7	Father	tate	athithi	Ny. atate.
8	Mother	amai	manyi	Ny. amai, mai.
9	Chief	mwene	amwene [mwene]	
10	Slave	kaporo	ipota [amakwa]	Ny. and Y. kapolo.
11	Spirit	muepa, mzimu	minepa * (pl.)	Ny. mzimu.
		muru	muru, pl. miru	Ny. mutu, or mtu. Y. mtwe
12	Head			
13	Hair	lihi	ikarari	
14	Ear	baru, pl. maru	nyaru, pl. maru	
15	Eye	dito, pl. mato	mitho, pl. metho	Ny. diso, maso.
16	Nose	epuna	ipula	Ny. mpuno.
17	Mouth	mwano	iyano	
18	Tooth	lino, pl. mino.	nino, pl. mino.	Yao, lino, meno.
19	One tooth	lino limothi	nino nimoka	
20	Neck	likohi	ishiko	Ny. kosi.
21	Arm	wono, pl. muono	mono, pl. miono	
22	,, (right)	,, wolupwana		
23	,, (left)	,, wamtiana		
24	Hand	mtata, pl. mata	mthatha (pl. mathatha)	
25	Finger (2 fingers)	yala (yala pili)	nikoko	Y. chala, pl. yala.
26	Nail	ekaluka	ihatha	
27	Knees	makuta	makutha	
28	Leg	mweto	(not given)	Ny. mwendo.
29	Foot	nyalo	nyao, pl. manyao	Zulu, unyawo, Chwana, lonao.
30	Tattoo marks	nasoro, siraru *		
31	Medicine cuts	ehungu		

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	English.	Lomwe.	Maples.	
32	Ox	eng'ombe	ing'ope	Ny. ng'ombe
33	Dog	mwanapwa *	mwalapwa [mwanapwa]	Y. mbwa.
34	Goat	epuri	epuri	Chwana, lipoli
35	Sheep	engosa	ikondoro	Ny. nkosa.
36	Lion	mwato	karamu	
37	Elephant	etepo	itepo	Y. ndembo; Swahili, tembo.
38	Hippopotamus	napetu / nekuveri	ipitu	
39	Leopard	nantapi	havara	
40	Buffalo	enari	inari	Ny. njati.
41	Wild beast	liropo, pl. miropo *		Ny. chirombo.
42	Rat	chilu	nikule *	
43	Mouse	emete *		Ny. mende (?)
44	Bird	epalame *	shanuni *	Ny. mbalame.
45	Fowl	eku *	ilaku	Ny. nkuku
46	Pigeon	ekunda	nchia *	Ny. nkunda.
47	Snake	enoa	inoa	Ny. nyoka
48	Fish	ehomba	ihopa	Ny. nsomba
49	Butterfly	nankulupepe	ichipepeta	
50	Locusts	mnzope / mampali	ichorope	Ny. dzombe.
51	Country	elapo	iwani	Yao, chilambo.
52	Sun	mthua	nchuwa [mthua]	Ny. dzuwa, jua
53	Moon	mwiti	(month, mweri)	Ny. mwezi.
54	Star	etendevi	itotwa [eteneri]	Ny. nyenyezi?
55	Sky	musulu	nihute [othulu]	Z. izulu.
56	Cloud	ngrapo (mrapo?)	,,	
57	Wind	epewe	ipeo [epeo]	Ny. mpepo.
58	Day	otana	uthana	Nyanja, usana.
59	Night	mahi	uhiu	Ny. usiku.
60	Fire	munlo	moro [moro]	Ronga (mu)ndilo.
61	Water	mathi	mashi [mathi]	Ny. madzi.
62	Hill	mwango	mwako [erua]	Z. um-mango.
63	River	eniya	moloko [mrati]	
64	Stream	muhiche	mwamwoloko	
65	Path (road)	etila	epiro	Ny. njira; Yao, njila
66	Stone	mluku	nluku	
67	Tree	mtapiko	mwiri [mwiri]	
68	Grass	manache (malachi?)	manyashi [malasi]	Yao, manyazi.
69	Flowers	maluathi	ituva	Ny. maluwa
69*a*	(? flower)	chirua	[well-hime]	Ny. chi-tsime, Sw. ki-sima
70	Pumpkins	mavuku	machuku	Ny. maungu
71	Maize	nampete	nakuo	
72	Mapira (*Holcus sorghum*, "Kafircorn"	meli	only "millet,"—"mele" is given	
73	Maere (a small kind of millet)	nkakwe		
74	(Sweet) potatoes	papaya	karaka	Probably the Portuguese word
75	Banana	muopo, mututi	inika	
76	Rice	mvuka	moka [mathoro]	Ny. mpunga.
77	Salt	mwenyu	maka	Ronga, munyu
78	Beer (native)	oteka	(not given)	
79	Egg	leoche, pl. moche	nyoche	
80	Meat	enama	inama	Ny. nyama.
81	Firewood	ekuni	ikuni	Ny. nkuni.

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	English.	Lomwe.	Maples.	
82	House	enumpa	inupa	Ny. nyumba.
83	Roof	epato	nivatho	
84	Bowl or plate	epali	ikarekare	Ny. mbale.
85	Spoon	mwaho	mikori	
86	Porridge stick	mkori		
87	Basket	rutu	chikapu, nikaia	
88	,, flat, for sifting	etelo	ithelo [etelwa]	Ny. liselo (lichelo)
89	Small, round	etekwa	epaje	Nyanja, nsengwa.
90	Sleeping mat	windli	ntato [ntato]	
91	String	mukwe, pl. mikwe	ntoche	Nyanja, chi-ngwe.
92	Drinking-gourd	ekahi		
93	Needle	mboto	singano	
94	Thread	ohalu	ntoiche	Zulu, uhala
95	Cloth	ekuo	ikuo	Yao, nguo, C. S. icúo
96	Beads	mukova	mkowa	
97	Barkcloth	nchila	(not given)	
98	Sandals	etapara	ikokwata	
99	Knife	mwalo, ekumbu	mwalo	? Y. mkalo (knife), chi-kumbu (knife-handle)
100	Hoe	ehipa	ihipa	
101	Stick (staff)	mtoto	ikopo	Ny. ndodo?
102	Axe	muhemu / ipaso	ipacho	Zulu, imbazo, O'Neill; epasso, Tug. ibasu.
103	Shield	etapara	ichikopa	
104	Spear	livaka	nivaka	Y. lipanga
105	War	ekoto	ikoto	Ny. nkondo
106	Work	miteko	mtheko	Z. um-mango.
107	Load	mnteko	mrindi	
108	Journey	likwaha	urendo	
109	Health, life	moyo (used as salutation)	ukumi	Nyanja, moyo—also used in its original meaning of "breath"
110	One	mothi	imoka	Ny.-modzi
111	Two	pili	pili	Ny.-wiri.
112	Three	taru	taru	Ny.-tatu
114	Four	macheche	cheshe	Yao, mcheche
115	Five	tanu	thanu	Ny.-sanu
116	Six	tanu nimotha	thanu na imoka	Ny.-sanu ndi modzi.
117	Many	manchichi	chinji	Y. -jinji.
118	Up	basulu	mchulu	Zulu, pezulu.; Ny. dzulu
119	Down	karati	vathi	
120	To hoe	ulima (olima?)	ulima	Ny. and Y. ku-lima
121	To light a fire	ovidela	uhela (?) [oteria]	
122	To eat	o-tya	ulia [olya]	Ny. ku-dya; Yao, ku-lya
123	To drink	o-wiria	uria [owuria]	
124	To walk	o-eta	weta (u-eta)	Ny. ku-enda
125	To buy	o-tomana	uthuma	
126	To roast	o-tota	wosha [cook = otokotia]	Sw. ota (?)
127	To bring	o-kusha	uwiha	
128	To lift	o-rula	winula	
129	To die	o-kwa	ukwa	Yao, ku-uwa.
130	Many people	matu anchichi		
131	Much water	mathi manchipali		
132	Bring water	kushere math		

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	English.	Lomwe.	Maples.
133	Go away	kawikeni	uhia (to go away from)
134	Sit down	karatiwa	ukalathi (to sit)
135	Our country	elapo ahu	
136	Our journey is long	ukwanu kwaha tematema	

2. This looks like a diminutive, perhaps from some form of *lume* (male) which is traced in Meinhof (*Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*) to an "Ur-Bantu" verb root luma. It appears in Swahili as mume, in Herero as ndume, in Konde as undume (husband), in the Zulu malume (maternal uncle; his being designated as *the* man of the family seems a trace of a past matriarchal stage among the Zulus). The word alumbwani occurs in a small list I made in the West Shiré district, in what was called Chimatengo. The people who spoke it said they had migrated from a country called Matengo, which must have been somewhere to the east or the north-east of Lake Chilwa, apparently about thirty years before. The word for "boy" given by Carvalho Soveral is "mariômané" (this vocabulary is, of course, spelt according to Portuguese orthography, which makes some of the words difficult to identify, when it is impossible to check them by native pronunciation).

3. Carvalho Soveral: metiana. It is not easy to find parallels to this form. Meinhof derives Suto sali, Swahili *ke*, Herero kaze, mkazi (Nyanja mkazi = woman), and Duala muto (= mo-i-to), from the same root kalî = female. But the change from *k* to *t* does not seem common.

4. Mzombwe is not commonly used in Nyanja, the usual word for a youth, or young unmarried man, is mnyamata; but chizombwe is used (see Scott's *Dictionary*) to denote "neatness of dress, foppishness"—such carefulness about personal appearance as may be observed in young men.

5. Mwali is the Yao word applied to a girl who is grown up and initiated into the Unyago mysteries, but has not yet had a child. Namwali is used in Nyanja with much the same sense; a younger girl is simply mwana mkazi (or wamkazi). Scott's *Dictionary* gives *butu* in this latter sense, but I have only once heard this word used by a native, and then it was *mwana wa butu*. Among the Wadoe a girl is called mwari from her fifteenth or sixteenth year till her marriage.

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6. This word is common to most Bantu languages. In Swahili *mtoto* has taken its place in a general sense, but mwana is retained in compounds like mwana mume, mwana adam, &c. One hesitates whether to regard it as the same word as the Zulu umntwana ; the latter is clearly a diminutive of umu-ntu ; and the Ronga nwana shows a transition form in which the *t* is got rid of (as it is in mhunu, or munhu), but Meinhof traces mwana to a primitive umu-γana.

7. Atate and amai, the most usual forms at Blantyre, are plurals—probably plurals of respect. West of the Shiré, the words most frequently heard are bambo (said by Dr. Henry to mean "sir" or "master") and "mai": moreover the latter is not contracted with the possessive pronouns as is done at Blantyre, where amako and amache are constantly used instead of mai wako, mai wache (or wake):—but amai anga is not usually contracted. In Yao the two words atate and wese are in use:—the latter suggests the Zulu uyise = his (or their) father. Carvalho Soveral: ápuápá and maiâna.

9. This is the same as the Yao word, and seems to correspond to Swahili mwenyi and Ny. mwini = owner or possessor: the former used as a title, the latter not so at Blantyre, though, in some parts, it seems to take the place of mfumu or mbuye.

10. I only know this word in Nyanja and Yao, and can form no opinion as to its derivation. The word amakwa is noticeable. It is evidently the plural of makwa (Mr. D. J. Rankin has pointed out that the correct pronunciation is má-kwa, and that it is therefore a mistake to treat the *ma* as a prefix and call the people or language Kúa), and came into use where the slaves offered for sale were chiefly Makuas. The only natives I ever heard pronounce the word (I do not think the Alolo knew it) was the woman at Durban already referred to: she called it Makúa ; but having left her country almost in infancy, she might easily have picked up the wrong sound from Europeans.

11. Possibly this should be mnepa, in which case minepa is the plural. Mzimu may have been adopted from Yaos or Anguru, but it occurs in many languages.

12. The r in muru is probably "cerebral," which explains its being interchangeable with *t*. The Herero is otyi-uru, which belongs to a different class: most languages which have this

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root place the word in the second (mu-mi) class. Swahili, however, seems to have made it into diminutive ki-twa, thus placing it in the class corresponding to the Herero one (otyi = isi = chi = ki, &c.). Zulu and some other languages use an entirely different word *in-hloko* (for human beings, however, *ikanda*): Ronga, nhloko; Suto, hloho; Chwana, oχo. Meinhof does not give any word for "head" among his list of roots.

13. This may be the same word as the Ny. tsitsi, sometimes pronounced sisi (at Likoma, chichi). We have examples elsewhere of the aspirate in Lomwe replacing a sibilant elsewhere. Ronga nsisi, Nyamwezi nswiri, Herero onjise, Chwana moriri (probably the two r's are of different quality, one having passed in Lomwe into l, the other into h: or, perhaps, as li seems to be the prefix, the root *ri* has either been reduplicated in the one case, or has lost its second syllable in the other) are evidently the same word, and the Ganda enviri suggests a possible transition form to a series of which the Zulu u (lu) -nwele is the principal representative.

14. A very common word for "ear" is kutu, which seems to have lost the prefix *li* or *ili*. Its proper plural is ma-kutu, but, the first syllable being mistaken for a prefix, it has in some languages been made to form a plural, matu, which passes into ma-ru, by the same rule as mutu—muru.

15. Words which originally had the prefix *ili*, and whose class is known by their concord, frequently in Mang'anja begin with *d*: diso, dzino, dzanja, dzuwa; in Yao they often retain the prefix *li*; *liso*, li-iso: that the vowel belongs to the root also appears from the plural meso = ma + iso, Zulu am-ehlo = ama + ihlo), lino, lyuwa, C. S. netho (probably a mistake).

16. Ny. mpuno means "nostril," and is used in the plural for "nose." It is probably connected with puma = to breathe, whence puma and pumula = to rest. C. S. fula.

17. Whether this is the same as Ny. ka-mwa (diminutive?) I do not know.

18. Meinhof gives as the primitive form ili-γino, which accounts for the z in Zulu i (li)-zinyo, Nyanja d-zino.

21. It seems difficult to connect this with anything except mkono, found in a great many languages, and generally meaning the forearm; but so far I know no instance of *k* being dropped after *m* in this way.

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22. This designation of the right and left hands as "male" and "female" respectively seems to be not uncommon. Frequently the right hand is described by means of some action appropriated to it—as "the eating hand," "throwing hand," etc.

24. Here Maple's *th* is evidently intended for the explosive *t*, which I failed to catch. Suto has se-atla, which connects the form with Zulu is-andhla. The Ny. d-zanja (janja) looks as if the sibilant belonged to the root, as in the case of d-zino: according to Meinhof it seems to represent a primitive guttural; γanga. Cf. the Swahili ganja = palm of the hand (Yao ligasa ?), and Sango (Urori) li-ganja. C. S. matalá.

25. Words from the same root (Meinhof: nala) occur elsewhere with the meaning of "finger-nail," or "claw" (Sw. nyaa, Herero o-nyara). The original word for finger seems to be umu-nwe, existing in this form in Zulu (Herero omu-nwe). C. S. necoco.

28. Mw-endo—the walker, from kw-enda. Cf. the Lomwe verb o-eta; C. S. meto. Yao lukongolo and Zulu um-lenze are entirely different words.

29. This word does not seem to exist in Ny. (where mwendo = foot as well as leg—and pazi = sole of the foot) or Yao. C. S. meto.

30. There seems to be an error in my notes. Nasoro was given me as the name of the crescent-shaped mark with two small cuts beneath, described in the introductory note, and I understood siraru to be a distinct name for these cuts on the temple; but the latter word is probably "three" and nasoro refers to any kind of mark of this kind. I cannot, however, find siraru among any forms of the numerals given by Maples (p. 49), and nasoro would appear to be a singular.

31. These, as distinct from the tattoo marks, are cuts made (generally in the arm) into which the juice of herbs and other medicines are rubbed. It is a favourite method of treatment with native practitioners.

32. Here the prefix has been kept, but the Makua *p* has been softened into the Ny. *mb*, Zulu in-komo, Ronga homu, Chwana kgomo (kχomo). Meinhof does not give a primitive form for this word.

33. C. S. muálápua. This, like some other words, seems to

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have the mwana prefixed to it, simply in order to lengthen the monosyllabic root: though other languages show no reluctance to let the noun-prefix take the accent. (Zulu ú-mfo, i-mpi) eku = a fowl is used along with mwanaku (=mwana-eku). Mbwa seems to be one of the most obvious onomatopoetic words, and is found either in this form or as i-mbwa in a large number of languages. Meinhof considers imbwa the primitive Bantu form. The Zulu inja is arrived at by the same process of phonetic change as the diminutive intanjana (for intambwana), from intambo. The Ny. garu, quite unrelated philologically, is probably also onomatopoetic.

34. Chwana, as already remarked, supplies the transition form connecting this with mbuzi. Meinhof gives the Bantu i-mbulî from a root *vuli*: (this *v* sound is described as one made with the lips only—not lips and teeth); Pedi (the Bapedi are a Basuto tribe of the Transvaal, better known as "Sikukuni's people") has puli; Duala mbodi.

35. Were it not for the existence of a transition form in Chwana li-nku, it would never strike one that nko-sa and the Zulu i-mvu were the same word. Meinhof refers the various forms given by him to a root ɣu and supposes a primitive form i-nɣu; Peli nki, Herero o-ndu. Ny. suffixes a syllable to the root, as we shall see in the case of a few other words. Ikondoro is evidently the same as the Sw. kondoo. C. S. gives epuitipuite, of which I can make nothing.

36. Hardly any word varies so much in different languages as this. Simba (Yao li-simba) seems to be common to Swahili and several mainland languages, and Ronga ndau seems to be the same as Chwana tau, but elsewhere scarcely two are the same. Sir H. H. Johnston deduces from this that the undivided tribes (Bantu) inhabited a country where there were no lions—an argument, which if pressed would prove that they were unacquainted with the sun and moon. It seems more likely that different euphuisms were invented, in order to avoid naming so dangerous a beast directly. (The Makanga believe that lions are the embodiment of their ancestral spirits.) Many of the words in use have the look of being epithets rather than names strictly so called: *e.g.*, the Zulu i-bubesi = the destroyer. I-ngonyama is less used, but seems to be the regular term among the Angoni in the Lake Nyasa district. Ganda mpologoma, again, looks

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like an epithet, but I do not know its etymological meaning, or that of the Ny. mkango.

37. This form exists in Swahili side by side with ndovu, which represents the more general one, from the root (acc. to Meinhof) γoγu :—Zulu in-dhlovu, Ny. njobvu (Likoma njovu), Herero io-ndjou, Pei tloi, Fiote (Lower Congo) nzau.

38. Here the primitive form seems to be inguvu ; but many languages have diverged from it in ways difficult to explain : Herero o-nduu, Peli kuvu, Duala ngubu, Fiote nguvu, Zulu i-mvubu, Ronga i-mpfubu, Ny. mvu, &c. On the other hand, Sw. kiboko, Yao ndomondo, which corresponds to another Sw. word, tomondo.

39. Yao chi-sui and Sw. chui seems to be connected with the root γwi (Ur-Bantu i-ngwi), which elsewhere yields the forms : Peli nkwe, Herero ongwe, Zulu Ingwe, Duala ndjo, Fiote ngo—perhaps Ny. nyalu-gwe.

40. Zulu inyati—Sw. nyati.

41. Chirombo means a wild animal of any kind—so long as it is not nyama (meat) or good to eat. It is also applied to insects, and to useless wild plants or weeds, also sometimes to a monster or bogey. It seems to be the same as the Zulu isilo (a wild animal—but more especially a leopard—perhaps, through hlonipa, to avoid using ingwe, a word which few people care to say, if they can help it), with a syllable suffixed to the root, as in nyu-mba.

42. There are innumerable kinds of rats and mice : the usual Ny. words are koswe and mbewa respectively, but there is a kind of mouse called mende, and it is possible there may be a kind of rat with a name cognate to chilu.

44. This and the Ny. mbalame stand alone, so far as I can make out, and I am very much puzzled by the etymology. Most other languages have some form of the word represented by sha-nuni (C. S. moanini), Zulu i-nyoni, Yao chi-juni (Meinhof i-nnyuni). Sw. has ndege along with nyuni.

45. See 33. This word is almost universal, and nearly always has the concords i-zi. One wonders why Sw. should have transferred it into the li-ma class. (C. S. elaco, mualaco.)

46. Nchia seems to be the same as Ny. njiwa—a wild pigeon. Zulu i-juba.

47. C. S. eoupa. See 32 and 82. Zulu in-hlanzi is evidently

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from hlanza, to wash or swim (more usually hlamba), Ronga hlampfi.

49. The words for butterfly are, apparently, onomatopoetic words in the various languages: Yao chipuluputwa, Ny. peperu (among the Angoni gulugufe), Zulu u(lu)-vemvane, Fiote lumbembambemba, &c.

50. Dzombe (jombe) seems to be the same word as Ronga humbi, defined by M. Junod (Ronga Grammar, page 61) as "sauterelles des invasions"—while the ordinary grasshopper is mhera. So mampali may be another kind of grasshopper.

52. While one man distinctly gave the word as above, another said msua (C. S. dzua, inzua). Meinhof gives the primitive form ili-γuva. Such forms as the Zulu i-langa, Chwana li-tsatsi may have arisen through some ancient taboo (hlonipa) Ilanga itself, were the ancient custom still kept up, would be at this day an unlawful word to the whole clan of the late Hlubi chief Langa-libalele ("the sun shines") if not to the whole Hlubi tribe.

53. Some form of this occurs in many languages, in the meaning either of "up" or "sky." Thus in Ny., where mwamba is used in both senses, we also find Dzulu (Zulu) sometimes used for "above." C. S. gives "pôr em cimá" (to put up) = "Elava-súla," the latter part of which seems to be the same word.

54. Itotwa—Yao ndondwa, Ny. (Likoma) ntondwa.

56. This was an exceedingly difficult word to catch, and I am not sure that either of the above sounds represents it.

57. C. S. epêio. See Meinhof, page 179, i-mpepo.

58. Ny. usana means noon—or daylight as opposed to dark. Immini is used in the same sense in Zulu.

59. The form uhiu throws some light on this very puzzling word, which seems to be a plural. C. S. oleio (h = l), Ronga busiku, seems to show a transition between usiku and Zulu ubu-suku, and also connects with Chwana bosigo. Meinhof (page 185, uvu-tiku).

60. Moro is evidently connected with Ny. and Sw. moto, as munlo is with Z. um-lilo, which according to Meinhof (page 171). is the primitive. Where does moto come from?

61. Primitive form ama γi γi, according to Meinhof (page 154). It is always a plural.

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62. Fiote mongo and Z. um-mango are the only words I can find to compare with this.

66. It is not easy to connect this with the primitive umu-ti, so recognisable in most languages: Z. umu-ti, Her. omu-ti, Sw. mti, Ronga muri (cerebral r ?). In Ny. mtengo and Y. mte-la, a syllable seems to be suffixed to the root. Meinhof considers that in Duala bw-ele, ele represents the root.

71. The existence of numerous native names for "maize" shows that the grain is not of recent introduction, and also, perhaps, that it was not in every case directly received from Europeans, but passed on (as in fact we know it to have been) from tribe to tribe—not bringing its own name with it, to be transmitted in a more or less distorted form, but everywhere receiving a fresh local one. Yao chi-manga may mean originally "the grain from the coast" (manga); the word is also used by the Mang'anja and would seem to indicate that they received the thing from the Yaos. Zulu umbila may be from milho (whence we get the word "mealies"), but I feel disposed to doubt it. C. S. nacuo.

72. Mapira is the *Holcus sorghum* or dhurra; the grain is the same as that cultivated by the Zulus under the name of ama-bele, though the heads or bunches are slightly different in their mode of growth. Curiously enough the name ama-bele (which also means a woman's breasts) is the same word as ma-ere, which, denoting another sort of grain (a small, dark coloured species of millet), likewise means "breasts" or "milk" (but not the milk of animals, which is mkaka) from a singular *bere*. Maples gives this last as ma-pele. I believe the correspondence can be traced through several languages—perhaps the connection lies in some idea of "abundance." I doubt whether meli and ma-ere are the same. C. S. gives "melhe" as the equivalent for milho (= millet:—milho grosso is maize).

74. Papaya is properly a papaw—but it may be used in some parts for "sweet potatoes."

75. Perhaps the same remark applies to this as to maize. I know no two words which can be considered cognate. The cultivated banana (Ny. ntochi) is probably imported (though so long ago that it is now thoroughly acclimatised), the wild (Ny. nsorokoto) is indigenous. The natives carefully distinguish

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between the two, always telling you that you can get no fruit from the nsorokoto—only seeds, of which the children make necklaces.

76. C. S. "arroz em graõ-umúnca" (mvuku) "arroz preparado —morrâma." In Swahili growing rice is mpunga; cleaned from the husk, mchele; cooked wali. In Ronga it is also mpunga.

77. Ronga munyu. Lamu dialect of Sw. munyo (at Zanzibar chumvi). In Zulu there is no word, except u-sauti (from the Dutch zout), showing that the thing itself was not in use before the advent of Europeans. Probably the Zulus, with plenty of fresh meat, did not need it as do the vegetable-feeding tribes further north, where it is eagerly sought for. A great deal is made by the natives on the shores of the salt lake, Chilwa, and done up in bark-cloth packages, each a load for a man, to be carried by trading-parties to Blantyre and elsewhere. Ny. mchere, Ny. njete.

78. Called in Sw. pombe, in Ny. moa, Ronga buputu, Zulu u (bu)-tshwala, &c. The beverage is in all cases much the same: it is prepared from the mapira, or some similar grain.

80. See Meinhof, p. 176. I-nnyama = animal, meat.

82. See 48 and 41. Zulu i-ndhlu, Fiote nzo.

84. Mbale in Ny. is the word for any sort of bowl or dish —also for European plates and dishes. A cooking pot is mpika, a water-jar mbia (Zulu i-mbiza).

86. This is called in Ny. mtiko; it is the stick (in Scotland "spurtle") used for stirring the porridge and scraping it away from the sides of the pot. The plural of this word seems to be entered by Maples as "spoon," perhaps mistakenly.

88. This is called in Ny. ntanga, about as deep as broad, and used for carrying maize, &c., on the head.

90. I feel a little doubtful about this word; it is unlike any other I have ever come across, and the combination ndl does not seem to occur elsewhere in Makua or Lomwe. The *thing* is, in Ny. mpasa,—Sw. mkeka.

92. Cannot refer this to any parallel form. Ny. chiko.

93. Singano (also Yao—Ny. nzingano or zingano) seems to come from Zanzibar, where the word is sindano or shindano. I know no parallel to mboto.

94. I do not know if I am right in connecting this with Zulu

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uhala (urala, if pronounced with the strong guttural, as in Zululand proper); the Ny. word is *tonji*.

96. This commodity, again, does not seem to bear the same name in any two languages. Ny. nkanda. Y. chuma (which also means "wealth" and is Swahili for iron). Zulu, ubuhlalu.

97. Nkwende in Ny. Liwonde in Yao.

98. See 103. This word really means "hide" as does Ny chikopa, used for a "shield." C. S.: "felle = ecataka."

100. By analogy this should be nsimba in Ny., but there does not appear to be any such word: that for "hoe" is kasu (li-ma), the Yao is lijela, the Zulu i-geja, also of the same class, though different words.

104. There is a Yao word liwago, which means an axe.

105. I do not know any other analogue to nkondo than this except Yao ngondo.

106.} There may be some confusion between these two
107.} (though the Ny. words for which equivalents were asked are quite distinct: nchito and katundu). Miteko seems to be a plural. C. S. moteco (*trabalho*).

118. See 55. In Ganda we have gulu (li-ma)—sky. Waguluwa, above.

125. The expression for which this was given as an equivalent was: kugula malonda, which might be rendered "marketing"; gula = "buy"; malonda (no sing.) = "provisions," or rather in the widest sense anything brought for sale. C. S. has otuma = "comprar"; perhaps the -ana, showing the reciprocal form of the verb, may imply the idea of bargaining.

133. Given as equivalent to Ny. chokani.

134. Ny. kala = sit. Kala pansi = sit down.

135. Final vowels are not always easy to distinguish. As "our" according to Maples is -ihu, possibly kwaha, in the next sentence, should be kwahu.

A. WERNER.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Ny. ..... Nyanja.
Sw. .... Swahili.
Y. ..... Yao.
Z. .... Zulu.
C. S. ..... Ayres de Carvalho Soveral, "Breve Estudo."
Maples ..... Collections for a Handbook of the Makua Language.
Meinhof..... Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantu Sprachen, Leipsig, 1899.

The references in Ronga are to H. A. Junod, "Grammaire Ronga," Lausanne, 1896.

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LITERARY REVIEWS

The Sherbro and its Hinterland by T. J. Alldridge, F.R.G.S. District Commissioner, Sherbro, West Coast of Africa.

A MOST carefully written book dealing with a part of Western Africa very little known. The author has devoted a great deal of his attention to the commercial products of the country, the careful descriptions of trade products and notably his chapter on the Oil Palm strike one at once as the writing of no casual observer. When he tells you that it takes 11,779,183,360 nuts to obtain the quantity of Palm Kernels exported from the Sherbro alone, and that each separate nut has to be cracked by hand it is not surprising he should in the next sentence intimate that if machinery were introduced to do this work, it would free many thousands of pairs of hands which could be more profitably employed in cultivating the soil.

His chapters on Poro, Bundu, Yassi and other secret societies are most interesting, and it is to be hoped that the success of his first book will encourage him to write more on these curious native institutions, and let us trust also that in future writings Mr. Alldridge may be encouraged to add a number of details which must come under his notice and would be of the highest importance. Scientific men would welcome full and exact details not only on Secret Societies but on house construction, tattoo-marks, and tribal customs.

The Hut Tax is dealt with by the Author from one point of view only, and it is to be regretted that he has not given his readers some few extracts from the report of the late Sir David Chalmers (who was appointed by the British Government to investigate the cause of the rebellion in the Sierra Leone Protectorate). On the whole the book is highly interesting and profusely illustrated with many charming bits of forest scenery and curious native costumes, besides being supplied with two splendid maps of the country described.

A. H. Keane. *The Gold of Ophir; whence brought and by whom?* (Edward Stanford: London 1901, 5*s*. net.)

A SPLENDIDLY written book, full of information and brilliant in reasoning and style. Professor Keane with his world-wide knowledge of prehistoric man and ancient philology being an

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authority on the problem in question deserves our fullest attention when he has anything new to say.

The theory which he puts forward in the book just published is that Ophir was not the source, but the centre of distribution of the gold, the Emporium on the South Coast of Arabia, which has been identified with Moscha. Havilah was the auriferous land whence came the "gold of Ophir." Havilah is identified with Rhodesia.

Professor Keane thinks that the fleets of Hiram and Solomon went to the South Arabian port Moscha in order to fetch thence the gold of Havilah or Rhodesia; and he is of opinion that the name "gold of Ophir" referred only to the name of the port from which it was carried away. The evidence which he brings forward consists mainly in the fact that Havilah is generally mentioned in the Bible as auriferous . . . .

It is not likely that scholars will be easily induced to accept this theory, plausible as it is.

There is no evidence, and Professor Keane brings none forward, to prove that the district between Zambesi and Sabi was ever called Havilah. Havilah in Genesis X is the name of a region in Southern Arabia. There is no evidence that the Jews bought or bartered for the gold they brought to Jerusalem, which they would have had to do if they did not dig it themselves.

Professor Keane means that the people of Tarshish had it worked by slaves under the system of the sjambok. But what could have induced the Tarshish people to hand it over to Solomon's and Hiram's ships? Gold was as precious 3000 years ago as it is to-day. It is not likely that the typical name "gold of Ophir" was due only to the port whence it was shipped. Anyhow, there is not the slightest evidence for such an opinion. In Job XXII, 24, the phrase "rivulets of Ophir" occurs, which would seem to indicate that the gold was found in the river-beds of Ophir.

Finally, Professor Keane himself proves with great sagacity, that the Jews and Phoenicians went to Madagascar and from there to Mashonaland. Did they then pass by Ophir and go direct to Havilah? Or had Professor Keane when he put this forward forgotten that according to his own theory they never went further than Ophir in Southern Arabia whence they shipped the Mashonaland gold?

The separation of Ophir as a port from Havilah as the auriferous district, complicates the problem unnecessarily. Further investigation may prove that in South African names of to-day such as Sofala (So-Ofara) and the different Furas there still linger traces of a period when this auriferous district itself was called Ophir or A'fur.

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As regards the main point, it is pleasing to find that the weight of an authority like Professor Keane is on the side of the opinion that the gold of Ophir came from South Africa and not from India or Arabia. The gigantic ruins between Zambesi and Sabi speak too loudly to be ignored. Until stronger evidence has been found elsewhere we may put aside other theories for the time being.

Everything that Keane brings forward outside of his main subject is highly interesting: we may mention as particularly charming the chapter on early Himyaritic influence in Madagascar. The clear and lively style in which the book is written from beginning to end should make it popular reading for anybody who takes an interest in the history of the early civilisation of the African Continent.

The Foundation of British East Africa, by Professor J. W. Gregory, D.Sc. (Published by Messrs. Horace Marshall & Son, London, 6*s*. net.)

PROFESSOR GREGORY has given his readers a most interesting and exhaustive history of this part of our vast Empire; commencing with the earliest known records of the classical geographers of Equatorial Africa, he carries his readers with unflagging interest along with him to the present day.

A careful study of this book will be found of great practical use to all classes of readers and especially so to those who look forward to the future benefit which may be derived from an intelligent developement of the natural resources of the country. The Uganda Railway which has so far cost upwards of £4,000,000, ought to have the effect of prompting some of the Merchant Princes of this country to lay out a little of their spare capital in sending out not one, but several scientific expeditions to discover as quickly as possible what science can tell as to the future capabilities of the country.

If Professor Gregory's book should awaken the mercantile community of this country to the necessity of scientific research in these new countries, it will not have been written in vain. The book contains, besides many beautiful illustrations, two very interesting maps.

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Members and others are invited to contribute papers on the following subjects:—

NATIVE LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

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POLYGAMY. Its connection with the social life of the Natives.

NATIVE WANTS AND ASPIRATIONS. Where possible the Society would be glad if Native gentlemen would write most fully on these subjects.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION GENERALLY.

NATIVE TRADE SOCIETIES. SECRET SOCIETIES. Contributors on these subjects are asked not to treat them in a general way but to take one Society and where possible carefully describe all its forms and practices, its use or abuse by the Natives.

IDOLS. Many kinds are found all over Africa. Papers on these should be accompanied with photographs of the full face, the profile and the back. The attributes of the Fetish should also be carefully explained.

NATIVE HERBS AND THEIR MEDICINAL PROPERTIES.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE YORUBAS. This is said to be very elaborate and a full account of it would be most interesting.

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ROUGH SURVEYS OF DISTRICTS where light railways might be inexpensively laid, with full information as to the possibilities of such railways being remunerative.

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Description of illustration facing page 109 should read ;—"WATAVETA.—The youth standing on the right of the group (left of the picture) and those sitting down belong to the Seuri 'age'. The men standing up belong to the Lumerisho 'age'."

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NO. III. APRIL

1902

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE FJORT OR BAVILI FAMILY, KINGDOM OF LOANGO

Being answers to questions prepared by a high official of the Congo Français and sent to Monseigneur Carrie of the French Catholic Mission in Loango. As revised by Sir Smalman Smith.

ON paying a visit to Monseigneur Carrie two or three Sundays ago, I found him busy looking over a list of questions on native law and custom that had been sent to him to answer. The Bishop had had the questions printed and a few copies were lying about his table. He gave me one to look at, and I at once saw the great importance of the matter, and expressed my delight at the initiative taken by the unknown high official. Here, at any rate, was a practical beginning at getting at the back of the Fjort customs, and a pledge of the sincerity that rests at the bottom of the great French colonial movement.

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Knowing the interest that I take in the country and how anxious I am to do my little to help forward any work that may add to the enlightenment of those at home about these people, Monseigneur gave me a copy of the questions and told me to answer them. If our good bishop has done this to others as well as to his own priests, I think that between us we shall be able to add something to your knowledge about the Bantu. There is no nationality about such a move as this, and let us hope that many in different parts of Africa where the Bantu may be found will take up these questions and answer them, and not forget to thank the high official (whose name, alas! is at present not given us) for having put their thoughts in order. I speak, of course, as a layman, and it must be remembered that in attempting to answer the questions I write as such.

PART I.

CIVIL LAW.

SECTION I.—OF THE FAMILY.

The organisation of the family or Xifumba is certainly one that the Bavili need not be ashamed of, and when compared to that of many civilised people can only be looked upon as a model of logical compactness.

The Xifumba is composed of the grandparents Nkaka, the father Tata, the mother Mama, their children Bana, grandchildren Batekulu, great grandchildren Ndandu, and great great grandchildren Ndalula.

The uncle on the mother's side is called Ngulinkaci, the aunt Mama.

The aunt by marriage is called Mama.

The uncles and aunts on the father's side Tata.

Brother or sister-in-law Zali.

Father or mother-in-law Nquekici.

Son or daughter-in-law Nquekici.

Uncle of mother Xiqueci.

Uncle of father Xiqueci.

When you ask a native to what family he belongs he will answer you by giving you the name of his mother's family.

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On the death of the father his brother takes care of the children; but the wife remains with her children sorrowing for her husband for at least 24 months, when she may marry again. These children are called Bana Bana Ba Bika Nkulu.

A man may not marry any of his mother's family or relations calling themselves Mama. If then the totem or Xina of the girl the man wishes to marry is that of his mother he cannot marry her.

He may not marry the children of his father's brothers, but yes those of his father's sisters.

The family forms a part of the higher organisation of the tribe. The individual belongs to a certain family, whose chief is called Kongo Zovo, and this chief is under the prince of the province containing these families, who is called by the name of his province preceded by the prefix Ma, short for Manifumu. Seven of these provinces hold the people of Loango, called the Bavili. The Bavili, under their king Maloango, form a third part of the kingdom of Kongo, or the Fjort people, who are a section of the Bantu race. My head man Tati for example is of the family of Yanga of the royal province Buali of the Bavili of the Fjort of the Bantu.

An individual may not leave his town without the permission of his father or Kongo Zovo, and upon his return he must present himself before him, to give an account of himself and show the proceeds of his fishing, hunting, or trading. He must obey and respect his chief, who may tie him up, chastise him, deprive him of food, but has no power of life and death over him —this right belonging in law only to the King Maloango.—The Kongo Zovo can also requisition the services of all his family.

SECTION II.—MARRIAGE.

We find the highest form of marriage to be that of Monogamy. That is to say Princesses whose offspring may become the future ruler of the kingdom, have the right to choose one man as their husband. He may be already married or not, but once selected he must put away his other wives and become the slave of the princess, who has the power of life and death over him. But when she dies this man inherits all her property—

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Maloango so long as he is simply Nganga Nvvmbu may have as many wives as he pleases, but once he has been crowned Maloango he is supplied with one wife, a princess of Ngoio (Cabinda in Kakongo).

The people generally are polygamists but there is a line drawn between their first wife and the others.

The first is called Nkaci Ntete, the second and others Nkaci Sialila.

A concubine is called Ndâia Xicinsu. A whore Ndumba.

Polyandry has not the legal character that it has among certain primitive peoples. With regard to Polygamy and its effect upon the condition of the woman, it is true that, apparently, certain women have always existed in this country who object very strongly to sharing a husband with others and she is said to be a bad woman or one of spirit Muntu 'Mbi. But as a rule the first wife asks her husband for women to help her in her work, and such a woman is called a good woman or creature Muntu 'Mbote. There are constant quarrels among these wives but the husband refuses to take sides, and would be looked upon as a fool if he interfered. Should the injured woman in these disputes appeal to an outsider or judge as an arbitrator he will refuse to have anything to do with it. She has no appeal in these matters. Mankind generally treats the affair with indifference.

Should a man promise to marry a girl, she can make him pay very heavily for breach of promise if he has touched her, if not she can only slang and shame him. The man, however, cannot claim anything from the woman who breaks off an engagement, she gets a bad name.

If the woman whom the man desires to marry is past the age of puberty and is able to judge for herself as to a man's parts, the man will address himself to her first. If the girl is still a child he goes to her father and mother in the first place.

The proposal made the father and mother discuss the matter. If they can find no objection to the young man and they think it well to allow their daughter to marry, they accept the young man's offer.

The young man then approaches his own parents and if they do not object, the mother, who keeps her son's savings for him,

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gives him the goods necessary to present to his future father and mother-in-law. These goods are given to the girl's parents in order to give the man a hold upon them in case they supply him with a worthless article as a wife. It covers their responsibility which is a very great one, and gives the father the right on the other hand after returning the exact amount presented to take his daughter away from the husband should he turn out to be a beast and illtreat her. There are two "marriage bundles" 1. Called Bukali in the olden days = 20 longs (say 10 francs) but now 100 longs and one demijohn of rum (say 60 francs). 2. Mpakete, or in the olden days 10 longs, but to-day consisting of 50 longs and one demijohn rum, 1 coat, 1 counterpane, 1 hat, 100 longs to mother's relations and a present of 50 longs to the bride.

Certain families may not intermarry, as those of Xibanga and Maloango. Intertribal marriages were once totally prohibited, but to-day marriages take place although the offspring of such unions are looked upon much in the same prejudiced light by the Bavili as the offspring of black and white races are looked upon by the Europeans.

A woman who cannot plant is not allowed to marry by her parents. A known fool will not be accepted, and sickness is a bar. The goods bestowed on the parents of the proposed wife are called goods for marriage, Bindele Bi Kuquela, and not goods for barter, nor can the marriage be properly termed a marriage by purchase. The goods are accepted as a gage, or hostage, not as purchase money.

The "Bundle" having been given to the assenting parents, when the time comes or the girl arrives at the age of puberty, the bridegroom sends money to the parents so that the girl may be placed in the "paint house" where she undergoes certain rites of purification. The father's women folk then take the girl to the water and the Tukula or red paint is beaten off her with pliant switches or twigs. Then she is dressed and adorned with leg and arm rings of brass, necklaces of coral and other ornaments and taken to the expectant bridegroom. The dancing and singing that has commenced after the washing may be continued during the whole night. The husband gives the father's relations who have brought him his bride certain

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presents. The next morning the husband presents his wife with a white handkerchief. Then the women again come and present the couple with food. He makes them a return present. The bride then returns to her father's house. The husband then sends his father and mother to his father-in-law with a present to ask him to send him his wife. The father-in-law marks a day for her return to her husband, and gives certain presents to the father and mother of the husband who return to their village. Upon the day mentioned the father-in-law takes his daughter back to his son-in-law with a present. Then in the presence of the husband's father and mother he exhorts him to follow in his good father's footsteps, then turning to his daughter he gives her good advice and hands her over finally to her husband.

The married couple now have two fathers and two mothers to whom they owe obedience and must treat equally as members of one family, helping them all as children are expected to help their parents.

Should the woman be guilty of adultery the man may forgive his wife the first offence, but on the second occasion he will return her to her father, who must return the "pledge" money given to him. Should he discover the guilty man he may ask what indemnity he likes, and that man has to pay the fine even if he has to pawn himself as a hostage. The first time the husband is caught by the wife he may be forgiven, but the next time the wife reports the matter to her husband's parents and the man must pay. She may leave him for a time but generally comes back to him. If not, and should it happen that the father finds her another husband, the pledge he receives goes to her first husband. But the husband cannot make him give back the original "pledge." The wife has no claim on the woman who has committed adultery with her husband.

The male adulterer pays the fine, the husband alone inflicts it and the amount is generally about equal to the pledge, but the actual amount rests with the husband.

As regards the duties of married persons the woman plants, cooks, carries wood, and draws water, the man looks after the religious and fetish rites of the family, closely allied to the treatment of his sick relations, and their burial, finds his wife in dress, fish, the chase, palm nuts, etc., builds her house and cuts the bush where she may have selected to plant.

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Divorce.

Apart from the causes already mentioned, long absence and non-sustention bring about divorce or dissolution of marriage. In this case the wife after having waited say 12 months for the return of her husband, seeks his father and mother and puts the situation before them. They advise her, and if they give their consent, she goes back to her father and may re-marry. Upon the re-appearance of the first husband the "pledge" is returned to him. So that divorce is looked upon as a family matter.

In the event of the parties being unable to agree, the father returns the "pledge" and they are free to marry again.

If the children are very young they go with the mother, but the daughters remain with the mother in any case, while the sons when old enough to do without the mother's care go to the father. The father has to do his part in sustaining the children.

SECTION III.—CONCERNING FILIATION.

The different kinds of filiation are as follows:—

1. Their own children. Bana bana na veka.
2. The children of their elder brother. Bana ba ya yandi.
3. Their brothers' children. Bana ba nkombe andi.
4. Children of their uncle. Bana ba mama'ndi nkaci.
5. Children of their grandparents. Bana ba buta kak'andi.
6. Children of the father's sister. Bana ba nkaci.
7. Child of his nephew. Ntekulu u buta muana nkaci.
8. The children in pawn. Butu ci xivili i vanina.
9. The bought slave. Ndongo i sumba.
10. The children of slaves. Bana ba xifula.

The native law does not recognise the distinction of our civil law between legitimate, natural, and children of incest and adultery. Birth sanctifies the child and, as the child of its mother, it may become the inheritor of its uncle's property. As regards the general rule of succession it is not the eldest son but the wisest that inherits the property. But where the father of a family has been neglected by his relations, he sometimes takes his revenge on them by dividing his property among his children while he is yet alive. The mother has no property of her own, but is the guardian of that of her children, and should they die this goes to her family.

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Both the father and mother watch over the interests of their children, and can punish them.

The mother alone has the right to pawn her child, but she must first consult the father, so that he may have the chance of giving her goods to save the pledging. The father cannot pledge his child. The brother can pawn his sister, or the uncle his niece, the mother being dead. But the father being alive the uncle must first go to him to give him the chance of helping him out of his difficulty by means of a loan of goods. If the uncle is what they call a bad man, the father will call witnesses to see the cloth that he is lending the uncle who would pawn his child, he takes up a kernel of the palm nut in their presence and drops it into his box; which being interpreted means that he has bought his daughter. Until this debt is paid to the father the uncle cannot raise the wind on that child again.

A person is never free from being pawned in this way.

Parental authority is really never lost, for the father has always the right to ransom the child, who never ceases to look to him as her father. But as the child often settles down in the village of her chief or Fumu and becomes the parent of children, the amount needed to ransom it increases in proportion to the child's offspring. The debtor has to pay double the amount he borrowed and so much for every child. Even then the child may elect to remain where it is.

A child or children being bereft of all family ties may be adopted by one of the father's friends, who calls it or them (Muana bika wali) the child my friend left. Under this kind of artificial parentage the adopter can neither sell nor pawn this child, nor has he any hold on its earnings, it is a work of love and honour, but he looks to the gratitude of the child to make it up to him in some way or other.

SECTION IV.—OF GUARDIANSHIP, OF EMANCIPATION, AND PROHIBITION.

The French law recognises four kinds of guardianship.

1. That of the survivors of the fathers and mothers.
2. That by will conferred by the fathers or mothers dying last.
3. That of the forefathers nearest of kin.

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4. That which is disposed of by a meeting of the family.

The Bavili recognise six forms of guardianship, in order.

1. The grandfather. Xinkaka xi andi.
2. The father's family. Xitata.
3. The mother's father. Xinkaka xibuta.
4. The mother's family. Mama ci andi.
5. The father's friend. U yukana tatítu.
6. The guardian appointed by the family. Nandi u yonzola muana u bika vumbi.

The guardian acts as a father to the child, but cannot touch its property, for, as already shown, that belongs to the mother's family. He is paid by the family upon delivering up the child according to his deserts. Whatever he asks for if all has turned out well, with little *ex* shame if badly.

The family are the judges as to the time when the child shall be taken from his guardian, and that is generally when the child has grown up to manhood or womanhood. As the child's pro-father all that it has earned is his, or as much thereof as he likes to take.

SECTION V.—CONCERNING PROPERTY.

The best general idea that can be given of the native theory concerning property is given in their own words (Li Kanda Li Ami) "my family," literally Kanda means to make straight, to tighten—Nkanda = skin, literally the valley or natural deep of Ka the negative, *i.e.* the natural part of man, or that part which he has in common with animals. As the saying goes, Muntu nkanda, xibulu nkanda, muntu ua vioka mu ku bula mbembo, Man is of skin, the cattle are skin, man is only superior by speech.

The right of property is derived through the mother, the planter, to the Great Uncle the giver of all good gifts, Mbunzi, the S.W. wind, the rain giver, one of the Bakici baci or aboriginal "powers" on earth.

The Bavili have no word in their language to express proprietor or property. The nearest expression for proprietor is Fumu Bima, the chief or prince of all things. He may possess (Baka-vua) money or goods (Mbongo) or things (Bima) or even

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land, Ci-, but as Fumu ci, the land chief, he is the head of a family holding the land in trust for his people; while a possessor of goods is really a man who is only the temporary owner of things that belong to his Fumu.

Both kinds of goods, moveable and immoveable, have their uses, but one remains (Ci, *i.e.* the land), the other gets used up (Ma). The difference may be best explained by the words themselves, thus Ci has the meaning of aboriginal matter, the earth (Nci), while the aboriginal Ma or Maci = water.

Wherever labour is implied the possessor has the right of the disposal of its fruits, or that part of it which his Fumu has given back to him or allowed him to keep. A man trades, the part allotted to him is his. The woman plants, that part which remains after feeding her husband and paying the tithes to the Fumu may be said to be hers. The plantation is hers on this understanding. That is to say, all sources of wealth carry their responsibilities with them, and all goods are rather in trust than in actual possession.

The right of usufruct is granted to the Kongo Zovo by the Prince, or to the individual by the Kongo Zovo on demand, and this may be for him and his descendants so long as they exist as a family, but no use or habitation gives a man the right to ownership. This usufruct may have been granted in the first place by right of birth, as a reward for service rendered, or on payment by a rich man on the extinction of the family on whose land he has been living. And just as the king of the country may depose the prince of the province, so the prince may take away this usufruct from a rebellious Kongo Zovo. The Kongo Zovo in his turn may revoke the usufruct of land or goods enjoyed by the individual.

Usufruct may be established by inheritance, gift, loan, and permission, on land, water, cloths, goods, fruit of the soil.

The Kongo Zovo has the use of the land and water for his family; in return for this (1) he must help the prince in his wars with armed men; (2) all leopards killed on the land must be sent to the prince; (3) the head and a leg of the antelope, the wild ox, and the pig killed must also be sent to him; (4) the backbone of any whale washed ashore, the heads of the sea fishes called Bafu, Ntala, Nqueci, Mbili, Mbuta, Muenji, Tobo;

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the water pig Mgulu Maci, and a small basket of fish from each net, must also be sent to the prince; (5) his women also must send him one-fifth of the palm nuts, and a basket of pea nuts and Indian corn harvested; (6) the rich man or Esina living upon the property is expected to give the prince a feast and presents every year.

In return for a gift of cloths or the loan of goods the recipient is expected to be at the beck and call of the one who gives, although he has no right to claim service. The receiver calls this man "my friend who gives me cloths to wear every day," U yukana yami u kalila u mpuika nlele kada xilumbu.

Those who are permitted to cut down the palm nuts or reap any of the unplanted fruits of the soil are rewarded by a certain share in the profits of their sale.

The usufruct comes to an end by the will of the prince, the Kongo Zovo, or the individual, although it is granted generally to the recipient and his successors so long as they exist and behave themselves.

I have explained the duty of the individual to the Kongo Zovo, and of the Kongo Zovo to the Prince; there remains that of the Prince to the King. Maloango, as prince of the province of Buali, enjoys the same revenue as the princes of the other provinces, but as King he sends his messengers to the other princes to demand their aid in any emergency. He demands men in case of war, goods in case of need when one of the "powers" or Bakici baci have to be appealed to. The Prince must send him the skins of all animals killed, 3 pieces of chalk, 100 longs (or 50 francs goods), 3 saka ngo, and 3 mbongo lu tumbu or native money mats.

Roads running from the villages through the lands granted to the Kongo Zovo to the main roads are called Nzila Zi Nyauna, and are of a private nature, that is to say a stranger may be asked if met where he is going to, and if his reply is satisfactory he is allowed to proceed, if not he is asked to go by the public road or Nzila Ivanga Nzambi, or God-created road.

These latter roads cross at Buali, the sacred and central province of the Bavili or Loango. The east road leads to the country of the Batetchi, and is called Nzila Xintetchi. The west leading to the sea, Nzila Mbu. The South, Nzila

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Kakongo. The north road, Nzila Balumbu. These are part of the public lands, as are also the sacred groves Bibila, lakes, lagoons, rivers, bush, and ownerless lands.

Fishing, hunting, trees, native string, reeds, and the fruit of the soil not planted by the hand of man are common to the natives of the country.

The King holds the whole country in trust from God, through the "powers," for the use of the people.

White men may on certain conditions become users of the land and that which grows on it. The white man wishing to occupy land applies to the Kongo Zovo, who marks off the land put aside for his use. The white man then compensates the Kongo Zovo for his loss of use of the land, and the family for the loss of use of the trees, etc. In the meantime the Kongo Zovo has warned the prince, who sends his Majuka, Maxienji, and Mangova to visit the white man and witness the act of self-sacrifice on the part of the Kongo Zovo. They supply the white man with an interpreter, to whom they give the title of Mafuka or messenger. This man watches the interests of the white man and the prince conjointly. When the white man has returned the prince's messengers with small presents and has settled down a little, the prince, accompanied by his Mamtuku, Mamboma, Mafuka, Maxienji, and Mangova and followers come to visit him officially.

The white man has to supply these six personages with chairs or stools, and should place upon the prince's chair a piece of checked cloth called the cloth of law.

The prince then bestows the land upon the white man and his successors. Thereupon the white man takes a position in the country equivalent to the Kongo Zovo, but instead of paying the prince in flesh and fish or the products of the soil, pays the prince so much in goods half yearly or yearly, as well as a certain small percentage on the produce he buys.

SECTION VI.—OF SUCCESSIONS, GIFTS, AND WILLS.

On hearing of the death of a person all his relations come to "weep." The wife of the deceased delivers the key of the house, where the wealth is, to the man she knows in the absence of any will to be the rightful inheritor.

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1. The brother of the deceased by the same mother. 2. Then the nephew by his sister. 3. The relations of his mother. 4. Failing these, his child. The wife he has loved and esteemed the most is the guardian of his wealth and the keeper of the key, but she inherits nothing. The nephews inherit on the death of the brother.

The natural inheritor cannot repudiate his succession, he must take over the debts, not being able to renounce the inheritance.

When about to bury the deceased the inheritor plants a sword in the ground, before the assembled guests, and asks if there is anything more to be paid by him on behalf of the deceased Any creditor present then goes up to the sword and placing his hand upon it declares that the deceased owes him money or goods, and that he will give particulars of the debt later on. These are considered as proved. Any creditor claiming his money after that must bring his witnesses, and be prepared to substantiate the debt. The wife generally knows all about the debts of her husband.

The wife mourns for her husband (or did) from 18 to 24 months after death; the burial of her husband often taking place about that time.

The members of the tribe generally help to pay the expenses of the ceremonies in connection with the death of the Kongo Zovo; they then stay with the inheritor or disperse to the families of their mothers. They inherit nothing except by will.

A man may give away his property during his life, or make his verbal will in the presence of his wife and witnesses. He will call his slaves and tell them that they have been given to so-and-so. Or he may call his children and let them choose their slaves or goods. But this is seldom done, and only to spite the family of his people who may have behaved badly to him.

The gift is made in the presence of witnesses, and is revocable until the death of the giver, if it is only to be realised after death. But a simple gift between the living is irrevocable.

There are no special forms to be observed when a will is made; it is held to be written in the heart of the wife who has the key.

The wife and the witnesses are the executors of the will. The family will often make the widow pass before their fetishes and swear that she is keeping nothing back. They sometimes go

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further and force her to take "casca" as a test of her honesty.

There can be no revocation of the last will, the matter rests with the wife and witnesses once the husband is dead.

SECTION VII.—OF CONTRACTS.

Contracts may be enumerated as follows:—Those between the King and his neighbours, those between prince and King, those between prince and prince, those between prince and Kongo Zovo, and those between individuals.

Treaties or contracts between Kings are brought about by a third party or mutual friend, who acts as intermediary and witness. Between the King or prince and his inferior, the inferior gives the superior a present, and in the presence of witnesses "claps his hands," "Kalambala nkele maloango nkici." On the creation of a market a gun is buried, and an agreement made that no arms of any sort may be brought there, and this is done in the presence of witnesses. Between individuals no contract is legal unless made in the presence of witnesses. These compacts are known by the words Nkaka or Nkankano.

The one thing in all these compacts that is essential is that witnesses shall be present, and when it is proposed to cancel a contract the contracting parties buy "malafu" (palm wine) in equal quantities, but deposited in one bottle or other vessel, and then in the presence of witnesses drink and agree to cancel the compact. But in the case of one of the parties refusing to annul the contract, the matter is taken before two or three chiefs or princes and talked out. In the event of the dispute arising out of inequality of service rendered, the division of profits is rearranged, or the contract declared then and there null and void.

All goods, Bima, are freely bought and sold except men Bantu, the sale of men being a family affair.

A sale becomes definite after the transaction has been accomplished in the presence of witnesses, and the seller has "blessed it." He lifts his hands to his arm-pits, and then throws them out towards the buyer, and breathes or blows over the thing sold. This is called Ku vana mula, to give the breath, and is equivalent to saying "God bless thee."

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Mbongo Masandi (or a piece of grass cloth measuring in length including fringe 45 centimetres, and about 25 centimetres in breadth) has been in use as money from time immemorial, although at present it may be said to be out of use, the French coinage gradually taking its place. Four of these small mats were wrapped in one bundle, Vili, and five of these bundles (20 mats) were called Milele Mbongo I Tanu. Ten bundles (40 Vili) Mbondo Fula. One hundred Mbondo Fula (4000 Vili) were called Kama Mbongo. This was the price of a little slave of about 5 years of age. This equalled 8 fathoms of cloth, or about 16 yards, or four francs, that is to say 1 Vili was equivalent to ·001 centime. The white traders' cloth is now doubled in 12 folds; three folds = 1 long or "cortado"; and 4 longs or cortados form 1 piece of cloth sold for two francs. That is to say, one piece of 8 yards, 21 inches wide, is doubled into 12 folds or 24 laps.

Native custom allows the letting out on hire of men as of things. A native in need of labour might seek a large slave-owner and hire slaves or others for the sum of five longs, the duration of the service not being definitely settled. Should one of these slaves die during the service, the hirer had to pass before the fetishes and declare that he had had no hand in his death. Under these circumstances he would pay the owner 20 longs. But if he had wilfully caused the death of the slave, he would have to pay from 5 to 10 slaves in his place according to his wealth. The price of the grown slave was 5 times Kama Mbongo or 40 fathoms of cloth Kama Buta. This payment was called Ku Futa Li Bumi. (To pay that which is wasted.)

Slaves are termed children of the "cloth," or Muana Ntu ("the son of the head," in reference to the slave as the carrier). The owner is not expected to force a slave to do that which is wrong (Lu Kasu), but if he does the slave must do it, as his master has the right to kill him if he does not, and is himself responsible for the slave's action.

The domestic servants of a rich man are called Bavinji. A father may ask a friend to take his son as a servant and teach him all he knows. Such a boy is called Xileci. The head boy or steward is called Xileci Xi Busu.

There is no lending at interest in our sense of the word.

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Where a man borrows goods he must pay back double the amount borrowed, no matter for how long a time he has owed them. Unless a certain date for the return of the goods is mentioned, the debt may continue for years. The writer knows of one case where a debt was 15 years old.

A man may lease his cattle to another under the following recognised conditions:—First increase goes to the owner; of the second the caretaker takes a female; of the third a male; the fourth goes to the owner.

A man may commission another to carry on trade for him. He gives him exact instructions, paying him half the profits, but exacts from him or his family any loss incurred. The sender is responsible to the family for any evil that may overtake the one sent, provided that it cannot be shown that the evil was the consequence of his own folly. A man on leaving the country may commission his friend to act for him, but the service requested must be mentioned to the man commissioned in the presence of witnesses, and he may only act for him in that particular instance or on that occasion. No procuration to act generally for another is ever given. A present is given to one so acting for another, where no profit can be expected. The act or service accomplished and the profits shared or present given, ends the commission. The family being responsible, no general procuration is needed, for it rests with them always as a matter of fact.

In the event of a time for the repayment of a debt having been fixed, the creditor asks for payment, and if this is put off or refused he has the right to arrest anyone belonging to the debtor's family. This person is held until the matter has been publicly settled by palaver in the courts of law, when, the debt being paid, the prisoner is set at liberty. The person thus arrested is not necessarily of the same family as the debtor, but he should be of a family in the same princedom or province, that is some one living not very far from the debtor. This captive receives payment from the debtor quite apart from the creditor but as the result of the judgment of the same palaver. And this is the only form of security for the payment of a debt which the native law provides for.

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PART II.

CRIMINAL LAW.

SECTION I.—OF INFRACTION

THE Bavili have a very distinct idea of the moral and natural law, and classify their sins into five distinct sections of the one great class of laws called Xina or things forbidden, sometimes spoken of as Ka Zila, no road; (*see* "Folklore of the Fjort").

The first section is called Xina Xivanga Zambi or that which is contrary to God the creator. The sign of this is Mauso the tail of the ox, the sign of office of the Kongo Zovo.

The second is found in the horror the native has (or had) of being photographed, and in the magic glass of the Nganga Nyambi, who alone is allowed to look into it to discover the successor of the defunct Maloango, made, as they say, in the image of God. This is called Ku Sala Fumu.

The third we find in the way the mothers correct their children when they talk foolishly of God, this they call Xibika Bakulu.

In illustration of the fourth class. On the fourth day the Prince, Kongo Zovo, or father may have no connection with his wife, he may not go outside of his town, he may not hold a palaver. The Doctor or Nganga Bilongo may not bleed his patient. The women may not work in the fields. All this is called Sona.

The fifth comprises all those ceremonies and things forbidden concerning maternity. A woman must not sleep with her husband on the ground. A girl must not have connection with a man before she has passed through the "paint house." No dishonour to their parents must be thought of. All this is summed up in the word 'Ngo, the leopard.

These foregoing five Bina (plural of Xina) are summed up as Xina Va Xi Fumba.

The sixth, to kill, is called Ku Vaunda.

The seventh, to commit adultery, Ku Bonga.

The eighth, to steal, Ku Kulba.

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The ninth, to bear false witness, Xi Buta Mambu.

These four are called Xina Nkaka.

Not to covet, to remember that all under the market tree is sacred, and that this tree is also the last resting place of the body of the defunct Maloango on the way to the burial, after having held the "Seven" well in hand, according to the will of God. All this is called Xina Nsotchi or Nsoxi.

Finally, we come to that class Azz Bina or totems by which the natives know whom they may marry and whom not, as already mentioned in Section II., *i.e.*, a man may not marry a woman whose Xina or totem is the same as that of his mother's family. This class is called Xina Mvila. As in the case of the Hebrews so in that of the Fjort contravention of these laws is believed to be punished by God, by His withholding the rains in due season. Hence the necessity of the offerings made to the "powers" representing the attributes of God on earth, or Ba Kici Baci, of which Maloango is one under the title of Nkici.

The father, Kongo Zovo, or village are responsible in the event of the delinquent's non-arrest, and even then they must pay their share of the fine, or sell the prisoner into slavery, if he is not rich enough to pay the fine himself.

Children and fools or idiots are not responsible personally for their actions, but the injured party can claim compensation if he likes from the parents.

Killing, etc., in self-defence, robbery of plantations when very hungry, when no deception or secrecy is practised, are regarded as justifying facts. In each case, however, payment for damage done is expected.

SECTION II.—OF PUNISHMENT.

The idea of the damage done to God, King, prince, father, neighbour is the ground of the punishment inflicted. The punishment itself being a payment to satisfy the party injured. And this is shown by the fact, that except in the case of children who are chastised, payment in money, kind, or goods is first demanded. But pay you or your family must, if not in money, then by being sold into slavery, or becoming the slave of the injured party. A man condemned to death may not be slain if

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there is one dissenting voice in his village. Under these circumstances a goat is killed in his stead. A piece of this goat is given to every member of the community and the culprit is sold. When it is decided to kill the murderer or culprit, the Kongo Zovo, or prince must hand the person over to Mamboma (who takes the place of Maloango in the interregnum) and he hands him to Maloango, who calls his Mankaka (or executioner) who cuts off his head.

Generally speaking payment in a greater or less degree according to the crime is the rule as to form of punishment. The only exceptions to the above are,—When a man sleeps with a child not yet arrived at the age of puberty (Xina Xinselo) and so causes the wrath of God and a drought and consequent famine. Or when a man presumes to commit adultery with the wife of a prince, (Ku Sumuna Nkauci Luango I Matali) to sin against the wife and the royal rites of marriage. In these cases the culprits, male and female, are entirely in the hands of the Maloango, and they are bound hands and feet and cast into the fire. Witches who have taken "casca" and have been proved guilty are also burnt. But even in these extreme cases Maloango can spare their lives.

In the event of the crime being considered as in part justified by circumstances, or in the case of (Mamu Ma Bakici) a crime being committed without intention, on the spur of the moment, by a hitherto good man, the King will take him on one side and reason with him pointing out that he has broken the law and must pay, but only in part, warning him to be more careful in the future.

Slavery may be substituted for either death or non-payment.

The accomplice is reckoned as blamable as the actual criminal, but the instigator pays more than either, on the principle that a slave does his master's bidding and that the master is responsible for his actions.

Each crime has its penalty, but in the event of a man becoming a habitual criminal the penalties may increase to such an extent as to make it worth while on the part of the family to sell or kill the criminal to get him out of the way.

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PART III.

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE.

SECTION I.

IN simple matters a third party is asked in the presence of witnesses to judge between the two parties: if they are not satisfied with this and the palaver is between two of one family the father may judge the matter. If the question is between two of the same Kongo Zovo then this chief may settle it. If between two of different Kongo Zovo then the prince. If between two of different provinces then the question is taken to Mamboma and this prince takes it before the king Maloango on the day that the latter has marked off for the hearing of the case. Maloango's Court is the final court of appeal in a natural sense, although he may admit that the case is beyond his powers and refer the parties to the tests by ordeal.

In an ordinary palaver each party puts his side of the question before the third party or Reasoner, called Nzonzi. In case of appeal the Nzonzi appears before Maloango and explains the case to him from beginning to end. If one of the parties lives to the north of Buali (that is Maloango's province) and the other to the South, then Maloango sits with his back to the East. If the parties live East and West then he sits facing the South. The Nzonzi then stands at the opposite side of a hollow square, the defendant (Ntunyi) and his party, and the plaintiff (Nquika) and his party, seat themselves at the right or left of Maloango according to the direction in which their towns lie. To talk a palaver or rather sit it is called Ku Funda Nkano. The people reasoning it out, or the two parties, are called Bana Bankano.

The place where the palavers are held may be under a shed or a tree and is called Nganda Tela Li Misamu.

The natives recognise at least 5 kinds of palavers.

1. Concerning the rains and the "powers" (Ku Fwika Mambu Ma Ci).

2. Between the princes concerning the land (Ku Funda Nkanoci).

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3. To clear up an intrigue between friends and find out who is at the bottom of it (Ku Zinga Cina).

4. Civil (Mi Samu Ku Sosubula).

5. Criminal (Nkano Ku Funda).

As the judges are the Chiefs, princes and King of the country they have no special prerogatives or duties apart from their governing offices.

Generally speaking each party has an advocate to plead the cause. This advocate is called Nānga.

The attendants or helpers of the judges are those entitled to hold these offices as Chiefs.

Maloango has seven titles, 12 followers, six kinds of Zi Nganga. Mamboma has two titles of his own and people filling up the other titles of Maloango, except that of Nkicinci which in Mamboma court is not represented. Then he has also 12 followers and six Nganga in connection with the trials by ordeal.

The followers that the provinces have in common with Maloango and his Mamboma are :—

1. Mamboma.
2. Mbuku.
3. Mafuku.
4. Ma Xi Enji.
5. Mangova.

Maloango's signs of office are :—

1. Silver knife (Ximpaba).
2. 1 hat (Mpu Ntanda).
3. 1 cape (Xisemba).

his Mamboma :—

1. iron, (Ximpaba).
2. 1 hat, (Mpu Nzita).
3. 1 cape, (Xisemba).

his Mankaka (executioner).

1. sword, (Mbele).
2. hat, (Mpu Xikombu).
3. a long cloth (Xinzobolo).

The prince of a province (and Maloango as such) :—

1. ivory horn.
2. iron bell.

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3. hat, (Mpo Nzita).
4. cape, Xisemba.

Kongo Zovo :—

1. the tail of an ox.
2. hat (Mpu Ngunda).
3. cape (Xisemba).

The condition of the plaintiff or defendant does not determine the composition of the palavers and there is no exceptional jurisdiction.

The judge alone is allowed to settle a palaver. He has so many helpers or assessors according to the importance of the palavers.

SECTION II.

The palaver commences by each party stating his own case, and where there are advocates each advocate is instructed by his client beforehand, but may be reminded of any point during the proceedings.

Anyone may sit down and listen to the palaver and the judgment is very quickly spread about by report.

The procedure Civil and Criminal is much as it existed in Europe in barbarous times, ordeals being used instead of legal proceedings where one of the parties fears that his opponent may take an unfair advantage of his poverty, or when legal proceedings have not been successful in clearing the matter up and as a kind of last appeal.

A man is not forced to answer any question until the palaver is held. The head of a family may put one of his people in the yoke or whip him to get him to tell the truth, but torture in legal matters is unknown.

In opening the palaver the prince claps his hands and says Ngo Ngo Ngo ngete nzanti Twa Dukuna, and thus informs all that they are present in the name of God. Then he asks for a drink, and each party gives the same quantity. He then calls on the Zonzi to state the case (Mayanga I Manzoa). He swears by the fetish present to speak the truth, and then having stated the case hands the parties over to the King Judge Nkunzi. The King then orders the plaintiff to speak, which he does after "beating the fetish" and insisting upon its not allowing the defendant to interrupt him before his time to speak

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arrives. When both have finished they both "beat" the fetish, and agree to abide by the judgment of the King. If it is felt that the palaver cannot be finished by "mouth," they call in Nganga Bisengo, or Nganga Mbele Ku Mbazu, or Nganga Mbundu Ncitu, who divines who is guilty.

1. In the case of Mbundu Ncitu (a herb) one of each party is called upon to appear before the Nganga. The Nganga first takes the herb himself, and falls down in the direction of the guilty party. He informs the prince of the fact. The prince then says it will be best to let each party eat the Mbundu Citu. This they do, the guilty party falls down, the innocent lets three drops of urine fall on a leaf that is placed between the legs of each party. (This is not the same as the Nganga Nkaça who gives the casca to witches.)

2. Nganga Bisengo has a little box with a tight-fitting lid, which refuses to be parted from the box when the party present is guilty.

3. Nganga Mbele has a heated knife, which will only burn the guilty party.

After judgment the two parties called by the Nganga are brought just as they are to the assembly, and each side takes his representative. The King then tells the culprit how much he has to pay, and the day upon which the payment must be made in his presence. When the payment is made the judge asks them both if they are satisfied, and if it is Maloango they place their hands on the ground under his chair, and swear to let bye-gones be bye-gones, if the Judge is a Kongo Zovo they put their hands on his head and swear. And after a few words of advice and warning the palaver is finished.

Each day that the palaver lasts, each party pays the Judge 1 large calabash of palm wine. When the judgment is given each party pays Kama Mbongo per diem.

Corporal punishment as has been stated is a matter for the father to inflict in his village, refractory prisoners are put in the yoke for the time being, but there are no prisons, and the slave or pawn is just as free of the village as any of the inhabitants.

The prisoner directed to pay a fine or expenses becomes the slave or pawn to the creditor until the amount is paid by his family.

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There is very little to alter in either the composition or procedure of the native courts, they are the outcome of thousands of years of accumulated experience of a people who know themselves and their needs. Rather do the natives need a taking back to their ancient customs, before the "slave trade" and its abuses destroyed so much of their natural beauty. While some natives may have benefited by their contact with the white races, it is certain that the ignorance of the latter of their ways of thought and action has done the race a great deal of injury. The following thoughts on the way this damage has been done, and how reparation may even yet be made by the white races must be taken as simply my personal ideas on a matter that is of course open to discussion and fair criticism.

General Observations.

Religion.

The religion of the Fjort or Fiote is divided into two distinct divisions, the spiritual and the natural, or Nkici-ism and Mudongo-ism, that is the higher part belonging to the children of God, as free men call themselves, and the lower part associated with fear, slaves, and crime. The higher part, being connected more or less with the secrets of the higher classes, is not so evident as that which we connect with witchcraft and fetishism, and has therefore escaped our notice. Judging the whole by the part most in evidence we have branded their religion as all that is evil and repulsive, and have so done the natives an almost incalculable injury, by wresting from them or suppressing their knowledge of the working of the word of God in their midst from the beginning. We have helped to drown Nkici in Mudongo-ism or Nkauci-ism until at last the natives, as well as ourselves, call their fetishes Nkici. So far as my studies take me the religion of the natives may be divided into our great parts, two of which may be classed as the spiritual part and two as belonging to the natural division.

1. Bakici Baci, or the attributes of God on earth, including the King made in His image as the speaking I or the preacher.
2. Bilongo, or medicines.
3. Zinkauci Zi Bakici, fetishes into which nails are driven

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used as deterrents, and made by the Nganga, who in their making places in them the "passion" required.

4. Bakici Bankondi, household gods or fetishes protecting villages, houses, or persons, such as charms, &c.

In the creation of the Zinkauci (the aboriginal hearer) Zi Bakici naturally predestined and necessitated the making of the Bakici Bankondi, and will as naturally disappear with them. It is to these two parts that witchcraft and all its fearful evils are attached.

Ndoxi-ism or witchcraft really means the poisoning of either the mind or the body of the sufferer, and with it may be connected forms of hypnotism, suggestion, and all domination by fear.

I am not a believer in suppression by force, but it is evident that the Government must outdo the Zi Nkauci in forcing the slaves of fear to respect it. It need not raid the towns for fetishes, but it must reorganise the "powers" that work for the good of the people with a very strong hand, by upholding the chiefs in their endeavour to induce the natives to respect the moral law. And it must protect the people against the threats, the insinuations, and machinations of the evil-minded poisoners, by punishing such wretched devils with the utmost severity. It must not suppose that these criminals do not exist, because some of them are powerful enough to accuse and kill a perfectly innocent person as a witch. Until the Government is in a position to protect the people against these devils, the only thing it can justly do as regards the taking of "casca" or the powdered bark of the nkasa tree is to regulate it: (1) by allowing no one to take casca without first getting the sanction of the chief, prince, or King; (2) by obliging that chief to report the matter to the Government, so that it may make every inquiry into the matter and punish the offender severely. The Government can only do this in a country that is thoroughly organised, so that the first step of the Government should be to uphold the chiefs in their authority.

The missionaries might then well leave this natural or slavish part of the religion of the natives to the civil authorities, and turn their attention to the higher and more beautiful part, the tracing of the working of the Word of God among these people from the beginning, the building up of the "Old Testament" of

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the Fjort, and the fulfilment of Nkici or λογος and its work by the coming of the (King or Nkici-Ci) the Son of God, the Christ or God made manifest to us in the flesh. Once the speaking powers on earth, and the speaking I, their King, can logically be shown to them as the Word of God handed down to them as their guard and protection against Nkauciism or their naturally wicked inspirations they all hear so readily, the rest should be easy. And as the natives are slaves to logic I see no other way, and no difficulty in pointing it out, and once the way is shown to them they cannot become Mahommedans, just because it would be illogical. The King cannot and should not be separated from his "Church" Xibila and his God. The word for God is Zambi Mpungu. Mpungu is the name of a grove sacred to the attribute of God, "Force"; but the word Zambi means the "spirit" of the fours or the seven sets of fours or the Bakici Baci, which Maloango is ordered to keep well in hand. Each of these powers of God has its sacred grove or Xibila or church. The contents of each grove are symbols representing the creation of man. There is nothing evil attached to these groves except the now ignorant Zi Nganga. Little or no public worship is connected with them, unless the weeding of the grass at a certain time of the year by all the people and their singing can be so called. Rain, food, children, a safe delivery being needed, the King, prince, chief, or individual finds his way there and asks for it, paying the Zi Nganga attached to them so much. Why abolish them? Would it not be better to let educated native priests develop them into Christian Churches?

Establish a school of medicine, and attach an educated native doctor to each Kongo Zovo, under the direction of one white doctor attached to the King, and so displace the money-grubbing swindlers at present known as the Nganga Bilongo.

Government.

Let the Government educate the people they mean to put in the places of the present King, princes, and Kongo Zovo, and place a white resident Administrator with Maloango and his successors to supervise and help him in the uplifting of his people, not with the idea of reaping some immediate material advantage, but in the knowledge that the better and happier the people are

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the greater must be the future advantages to the mother country. The present state of anarchy of the country is due to the fact that the Government has not recognised the native form of Government, and has placed no intelligent European one in its place, owing to its ignorance of the needs of the country. The remedy is simple, and can be rendered very effective if the proper men are found to undertake this most interesting and necessary duty.

The Family.

In happier days the father ruled his family, while the mother may have been said to have kept the treasure. The family pride urged its members to amass wealth not personally, but as a family. The wealth was common to all, but under the control of the parents, and individual greed and jealousy were checked. When the brothers had had the use of the goods and the control of the family the goods descended to the rightful heirs, and the family traditions were maintained. Each, unless unfitted for it, had his turn of the use of the family wealth.

The great demand for labour and the emigration of large numbers of the family and the new ideas of irresponsibility to one's family imbibed by sojourns abroad, weakened the authority of the head of the family and impoverished him and the wives and children left behind by those who left their country and spent their money selfishly.

Children were at one time apprenticed to the masters of the different crafts and services in the employ of white men and gained no pay, but when paid by the white men in answer to the wave of that mistaken philanthropy which has caused so much evil in this unfortunate country, these little ones, following the example of their elder brothers, and supported by European laws, considered the money they earned as their own, and have at last thrown off parental authority at a very early age, and lavished their wealth in vain and vicious ways, thus sowing the seeds of the ruin moral and material of their country. The whole social system was founded upon this submission of the children to their parents and the holding of wealth in trust for the good of the family. One of the effects of this poverty of the head of the family may be noted in the appearance of their villages. When all helped to build, a certain amount of pride was taken in

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the building of the dwellings, and that set apart for the Chief, and all the huts were built on raised platforms of earth, and showed no signs of hurry in their fabrication. Now that each man works independently, one hut may be better than the other, but the old ideas of order and sanitation are conspicuous by their absence, and the old men instead of being honoured counsellors and trustees of the wealth of the family, have become loafers and live in hovels on, what in Europe would be called, the charity of their offspring. The present anarchy is certainly a very sorry substitute for the more beautiful form of family socialism in existence twenty years ago. And it follows that if this independence of the children and members of the family is recognised by the Government, it has no right to enforce the law by which the family becomes responsible for the crimes of its members.

Slavery.

It is evident that slaves in the older days were people suffering from the effect of their sins or those of their ancestors. In the beginning of the trading in slaves, the natives sold only those slaves or criminals whom they might otherwise have slain. As the supply of these became scarce the coast tribes would themselves become slave-traders, going into the wilder parts of the country, where slaves were not only criminals but also prisoners of war.

As the trade increased, men were made slaves on any slight pretence, until at last slave-raiding succeeded to slave-trading, and instead of its being a kind of paying transportation of convicts, it became a fearful curse to the country. The laws of the country suffered and life and property became insecure. Legitimate trade taking the place of the abominable traffic, the convicts or slaves once more became part of the family and helped their masters in bringing down the produce from the interior. Philanthropy, not satisfied with having abolished the slave trade, now attacked the status of slavery, and many of these criminals amassed wealth and threw off their masters' yoke; and as the philanthropists will not build us roads and railways, the trade of the country has suffered. The natives, according to their laws, still make slaves of their criminals, but they have lost all authority over them owing to the anarchy

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that now reigns in the country. The question thus arises, what is to be done with criminals? The European Governments on the coast or in certain centres of course punish crime according to their country's laws, but very many crimes are yearly committed in the country that now go unpunished, for the simple reason that the offended party obtains nothing but a moral satisfaction for all his pains in conducting the prosecution. Philanthropy can hardly be proud of this, neither can any one of intelligence declare that this immunity from punishment is good for the country. What is the remedy which the Government can apply to this state of anarchy? It is a difficult question to answer, but it seems to me that a "labour bureau," as part of the government of the country, should be established and carried on by the Government. This bureau should pay the fines the criminals or their families are unable to pay, thus preventing any native becoming another's slave. It should then condemn the criminal to the length of imprisonment required to wipe off the fine, and either make use of his labour itself or hire the convict out to work on some plantation or in some factory. This bureau might also lend money to natives, who otherwise would pawn one of their family "to raise the wind," the man repaying the money by his labour. Then in times of famine, to save women and children from starvation, the bureau might also forward certain sums or supply the family with food in return for labour it must pledge itself to give. In the olden days rich men did forward money to the natives in this way, but the payment was life service, which was unjust. A whole family in time of famine would migrate to some country where food was plentiful, and become the slaves *per interim* of the prince of the country; but all children born in that country during this time became the slaves of the prince and had to be bought back by the parents, on their return to their country. A great cry about the want of labour is being listened to in Europe, but I am sure that a department of the Government taking this work up and managing it on business principles would not only be able to supply all the labour necessary, but would also make a very handsome profit out of it, as well as earn the gratitude of the natives.

R. E. DENNETT,
African Trader.

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THE VEGETABLE RESOURCES OF WEST AFRICA

THE development of the vegetable products of the world, especially those of the British dominions, has formed for some years past, as most people know, one of the most important branches of work carried on at the Royal Gardens, Kew; and if we could particularise one part of our Colonial possessions more than another as receiving special attention at Kew, we should say that part is West Africa, a fact not to be wondered at seeing that so large a share of public attention has for the past few years been directed to various parts of the African Continent. The interest in that region in fact is by no means diminishing, but on the contrary increases continually as the Colonies become more under control and their capabilities more fully understood. The establishment of small Botanical Gardens, or as they are called "Botanic Stations," on the West Coast at different centres, and the placing of these Gardens under the charge of specially selected curators—trained men from Kew—is a most important step towards developing the natural resources of the Colonies. We may hope that it will especially promote the introduction of such plants of known commercial value as are likely to flourish in the soil and climate of each particular Colony, and in due course yield a satisfactory return to the revenue.

In all these respects Kew has co-operated with the Colonial Office, not only by supplying efficient men with the practical knowledge required, but also by giving advice as to the possibilities of success in the cultivation of introduced plants, and by supplying the plants themselves for experimental purposes. Moreover, as to the products generally, whether it be an article of food or medicine, a fibre, an oil-seed or a timber, Kew stands

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in such good favour with brokers and merchants generally that an expert opinion on the quality and value of any vegetable substance is very frequently asked for and is always readily furnished, together with remarks on deficiencies, or suggestions for improvement. The information thus obtained being conveyed to the Governor or to the Curator of the Botanic Station is valuable as a guide in the preparation of future samples or commercial consignments. The Colony is thus benefited by the opening up of trade in new products prepared in the forms and conditions known to European buyers: while the consignees or brokers are enabled to put a sample or bulk on the market with a better prospect of commanding the attention of purchasers. It should always be borne in mind that a certain amount of trade conservatism exists in the British produce markets, and that anything absolutely new or badly prepared has a poor chance of success in the face of abundant supplies of well-known or fully established articles.

The difficulties at the present time in establishing a trade in new products are however not so great as was the case even a few years back, and this is probably due to the fact that, owing to the facilities for communication now established between Science and Commerce, as represented by Kew on the one hand and Mincing Lane on the other, merchants and business men have come to know that if anything in the way of vegetable matter hitherto unknown to them appears in the markets of London, Liverpool, Manchester or Glasgow, or any of our large trade centres, they can, by sending a sample to Kew, obtain the exact information they require as to the name and nature of the plant yielding it together with suggestions as to its usefulness or otherwise as an economic product.

As illustrations of what prejudice has done to keep back the utilization of what have since become important commercial articles we may refer to the history of the Calabar bean (*Physostigma venenosum*) and the Kola (*Cola acuminata*).

Physostigma venenosum is a climbing plant with a thick woody stem growing 50 feet or more high belonging to the natural order Leguminosæ and found in a very restricted range near the mouths of the Niger and Old Calabar River. The seeds are well known as Ordeal Beans and were first brought to notice

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in this country about 1840 by Dr. Daniell, who six years later referred to them prominently in a paper contributed to the Ethnological Society. About ten years later, in 1855, Professor Christison drew attention to the poisonous effects of the beans on the human system. Again in 1858 it was the subject of a notice by Professor Sharpey. It was not till 1859, however, that a plant was actually received in Edinburgh by Professor Balfour, who described it botanically, giving it the name of *Physostigma venenosum*. About 1863 the discovery was made that the active principle of the seed possessed the power of contracting the pupil of the eye and it afterwards became used in ophthalmic practice, tetanus, rheumatism, and neuralgia. The researches into the properties of the seed were made about the same time that a consignment was brought into Liverpool to try the possibilities of a market: no buyer taking them, some of the seeds were thrown on a rubbish heap, from whence they were collected by some children and eaten with fatal consequences. These seeds are now an acknowledged article of import and are the source of the alkaloid known as Eserine.

In the case of the *Kola nut* we have another interesting article of commerce that has made its way to its present position through a period of adversity. This seed, now so much used, is the produce of a tree some 40 feet high belonging to the Natural Order Sterculiaceae and indigenous to the West Coast of Africa generally between Sierra Leone and the Congo. The seeds in their fresh state are about the size of a large chestnut, several of which are contained in a fleshy capsule. They have long been used on the West African coast for satisfying the cravings of hunger, and giving strength and support with a scanty supply of food to those exposed to great fatigue. For a long time the trade in Kola nuts was confined to the natives of the West Coast, but in view of the probabilities of its becoming an important commercial commodity the extended cultivation of the plant in tropical countries was recommended, and in 1880 a large number of plants were raised at Kew and widely distributed. It was not, however, till the period of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886 that its capabilities were put prominently before the commercial world, and since

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that time it has but slowly been making its way, notably as a strengthening ingredient in the preparation of some forms of cocoa and chocolate. Owing to the fleshy nature of the Kola seeds they are very difficult to import in a fresh healthy condition, mostly arriving in a more or less mouldy state. The market prices therefore vary from three half-pence to 4*d.* per lb.

In considering the capabilities of any newly discovered or acquired country we have to view the matter from two distinct points—firstly the development of the natural resources of the country—and secondly the adaptability of the climate and soil for the introduction of fresh economic plants. The first, so far as actual commercial plants are concerned, seems to be naturally the more important, as conducing to the increase of the trade of the Colonies generally ; while the second might to some extent be limited to supplying fresh sources of food as in the case of European fruits and vegetables for the use of new settlers in the country. In the case of the extended planting or cultivation of indigenous plants that give promise of becoming important as articles of export, the fact of having the plants already native in the soil goes far towards success ; and the improvement of the plants themselves, and the preparation of the product to meet the demands of the European market are the points to which most attention should be given. The difficulties of the task indeed are not always to be overcome. For instance in the case of African rubber-yielding plants, none of those yet known to Science or Commerce produce a rubber at all equalling that of the celebrated *Hevea brasiliensis* of Para. On the other hand some of the numerous African fibre-yielding plants have been proved to produce valuable materials for rope and cordage, if not for textiles.

The force of these remarks will be emphasized by a consideration of what has already been effected in the several Colonies of West Africa as recorded in the pages of the *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information* issued from time to time from the Royal Gardens, Kew. From this Bulletin the following facts have been largely gathered and classified under distinct headings, as probably affording the easiest means of reference to the progress and development of the resources of each Colony.

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CAOUTCHOUC OR RUBBER.

The chief source of this most important product so far as the African Continent is concerned is from several species of *Landolphia*, climbing plants with thick woody stems belonging to the order *Apocyneae*. The principal and best known species are the following: *Landolphia Owariensis*, a plant having a wide range in Western and Central Africa, *Landolphia florida*, also widely distributed both on the East and West Coasts and in central tropical Africa, *Landolphia Kirkii*, an East Coast species, named in honour of Sir John Kirk, and *Landolphia petersiana* also a native of the East Coast. These are the oldest and best known sources of African rubber, though some other species have more recently been discovered, especially in the Congo district, the rubber from which has proved to be of extremely good quality. Besides these another Apocynaceous plant formerly described as *Kickxia africana* was drawn attention to as a new source of rubber in Lagos in the *Kew Bulletin* for 1895 page 241, where the following interesting facts are recorded: "A very important rubber industry was started at the Gold Coast by Sir Alfred Moloney, K.C.M.G., in 1882, and although previous to that year no rubber whatever was exported from that Colony, it had attained in 1893 to the annual value of £200,000." This is a remarkable and striking instance of the creation of a new industry by official action and it deserves to be recorded. In 1882, Sir Alfred Moloney addressed a letter to the *Lagos Times* strongly recommending attention to the possibilities of a similar rubber industry in Lagos and suggesting the adoption of measures having for their object the addition of one more to the industries of the Colony. The result of this was not immediately apparent, but in 1894, the then Governor of Lagos, Sir Gilbert T. Carter, K.C.M.G., issued the following notice:—"His Excellency the Governor desires to notify to the mercantile community of Lagos that he has been able to induce a party of natives from the Gold Coast experienced in rubber collecting to come to Lagos, with a view to the development of this valuable and important industry. The men have already inspected certain districts which they report to be rich in rubber producing plants and it is confidently hoped that Lagos will shortly be able to compete with the sister

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Colony of the Gold Coast in the great export of the product." Following this came the announcement that a new rubber yielding plant had been discovered in the Colony of Lagos and that it was a large tree abundantly distributed in the interior forests.

In 1895 the then Acting Governor sent some specimens to Kew with the following remarks: "The Irai tree is between 3 and 4 feet in circumference at the base, and some 30 or 40 feet high. To collect the rubber the natives score the bark to a depth of $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch, and experienced collectors contend that it can be tapped again with good results in about 18 months." Later correspondence with Kew described the tree as one of the most beautiful trees in the forests, growing evenly and smoothly to a height of 60 or 70 feet, and yielding in the rainy season when the trees are full of milk as much as 10 to 15 pounds of rubber per tree. Subsequently specimens of the trunk which had been scored with the marks of the rubber gatherers were sent to Kew, and are now shown in the museum of that establishment. Samples of the rubber prepared in different ways were also received at Kew for valuation, and were submitted to a well-known City firm of rubber brokers; one sample was reported upon as being of very fine quality, and worth at that time (September 1895) 2/3 to 2/4 per pound; while another sample less close in texture and much damper, which of course seriously detracts from its value, was stated to be worth from 1/5 to 1/6 per pound.

In continuation of this important subject the *Kew Bulletin*, at page 76 of its volume for 1896, gives the following interesting facts of the commercial aspect of this particular rubber: "The exports from Lagos in January 1895 amounted to 21,131 lbs., of the value of £1,214. In December 1895 the exports had increased to 948,000 lbs., of the value of £51,488 9*s.* 4*d.*, while the total exports for 1895 came up to 5,069,504 lbs., of the value of £269,892 13*s.* 10*d.*" Commenting on this satisfactory progress the *Kew Bulletin* says, "This considerable industry has been called into existence within twelve months. The rubber is purely a forest product, and the collection and preparation of it have been effected by means of native labour. The success of the industry is another indication of the undeveloped resources

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of our West African Colonies." In concluding this reference to one of the most important sources of West African rubber it may be well to say that in view of further material since received at Kew, the name of the plant producing the rubber has been determined as *Funtumia elastica* and not *Kickxia africana.*

It will be gathered from the foregoing remarks that a native plant exists in West Africa which has been proved to furnish a valuable quality of rubber. This being so, it is of the highest importance that steps should be taken carefully to preserve the plants, and increase their number for the production of future supplies, and further to gather those supplies with as little waste or drain upon the plants as possible. In the early days of such discoveries the habit has too often been to kill the plants by over-tapping, or even to cut them down so as to obtain every drop of their valuable juice. This was the case in a very marked degree with regard to Gutta Percha when it was first discovered in 1842. So great was the demand for this entirely new and wonderful substance, as it was then considered, that in five years the whole of the trees in Singapore had been sacrificed except a very few that were retained as specimens—for at that time the system adopted to collect the juice was by felling the trees and bleeding the fallen trunks. Fortunately, however, Gutta Percha trees have since been discovered in Penang, Borneo, and in other islands, and a more rational system of collecting has been adopted. With regard to the discovery of the Lagos rubber-plant, the then Governor of the Colony, Sir Gilbert Carter, soon found it necessary to issue the following warning: "Judicious tapping," he says, "with regard to the life of the tree and its future usefulness, is the exception; rubber-bearing trees are ruthlessly sacrificed by irresponsible seekers after wealth, and dead trunks are becoming a too familiar feature in the landscape of the productive districts. Sooner or later a purely destructive policy of this kind must exhaust the richest country; adventurers will have to stray further afield, and the cost of transport will equal or exceed the value of the article."

With a view of learning to what extent this destruction had proceeded, and to stop if possible its further advances two native assistants at the Botanical Station, who had passed through a system of training both in the Jamaica Botanic

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Garden and at Kew, were sent in 1897 into the rubber producing districts to examine and report on the forests, the result being that they found all the rubber forests through which they passed had been spoilt by over-tapping. The advice given to the natives was to leave off tapping for two years, when all the trees, which had been almost stripped of their barks, would have healed up and be fit for a second tapping. Further, that after the trees had healed they should be tapped only once a year, and that in the rainy season. Instruction was also given to the native collectors as to the advisability of allowing fully 2 feet between the oblique lateral grooves that are cut in the bark; it is stated that this is just the point where the native tappers destroy the trees, for as they only allow from 6 to 9 inches between the grooves, the quantity of bark left is so small that the trees cannot recover, and gradually die. Finally the people were urged to plant these Irai trees wherever suitable lands were available. The method adopted by the natives for coagulating the milky juice is said to be a dirty and careless one, and a better plan was shown them whereby a whiter and superior quality results. This is done by adding to the juice (strained) twice the quantity of water, and then gradually heating. The rubber thus becomes coagulated, and does not burn up as is the case with the native system. This kind of rubber comes out milky white, and when pressed to get rid of the water has an agreeable smell and is of a superior quality. It may be added that quite recently some new species of rubber have been discovered in the Congo, the qualities of which are excellent.

We have dwelt on the production of rubbers to some extent because for many years past there has been a constant and increasing demand, especially for those of good quality, and this demand does not show any prospect of diminution. On the contrary, with the development of motor vehicles, and the spread of electricity for so many useful purposes, there must be in the future a regular, if not an increasing consumption. It is true that we have confined our remarks to native plants. This, however is not because the more valuable species of other countries like the Para (*Hevea brasiliensis*), Ceara (*Manihot Glaziovii*), and Central American (*Castilloa elastica*) have not occupied the attention of those interested in the welfare of

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tropical Africa; for in fact plants of all these have been sent out from Kew, but none have proved satisfactory, and as before stated it is only reasonable where a really good native plant exists that the development of that plant should receive most attention.

FIBRES.

Under this head a large number of plants come under review, for there are but few branches of manufacture that have attracted more attention of late years than that of the utilisation of new fibres. This is readily accounted for when we consider the numerous uses to which fibres are applied, and their various ramifications into widely different trades. The principal and most important however is, as it ever has been, for textile purposes as a source of clothing materials. Flax and cotton take prominent positions in this respect, and notwithstanding the large number of vegetable fibres that are from time to time being introduced to the notice of fibre brokers, no fibre, not even jute or rhea, has ever yet competed satisfactorily with the older flax and cotton, so that what has been handed down to us from very early times still commands the market. Next to textiles, fibres for rope and cordage-making probably command the largest quantity as well as the best quality; and next to these rank fibres suitable for broom and brush making as substitutes for bristles, for which there is an immense demand. Bearing all these facts in mind the primary importance of the development of a trade in cotton with the West African Colonies is specially apparent, and therefore a consideration of the possibilities of the establishment of a trade in this fibre commands a first place.

From time to time the *Bulletins* issued from Kew have referred to the chances of West African cotton occupying a position in the European markets; these references have, more recently been brought together and embodied in a letter from the Royal Gardens, Kew, to the Colonial Office under date May 24th, 1901, from which the following facts may be worth recording here. In answer to an enquiry whether it is possible to grow cotton profitably in the West African Colonies, Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer replies that the cotton plant is widely distributed

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in West Africa, but it receives little culture or attention and the product is chiefly used for making native cloths. A sample of native cotton grown at Mafweh on the Bum River, sent by the Governor of Sierra Leone to the Colonial Office and received at Kew in March 1890, was stated to be planted by the natives for local purposes, but not cultivated as an article of trade in the raw state. The growth of the plant is rapid, its cultivation simple, and the yield of cotton prolific. The sample was submitted to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, who reported that 2,300 bales of West African cotton of similar quality were at that time annually received in Liverpool, and that it proved so acceptable to Lancashire spinners that they would gladly welcome a very much larger supply than was then available. Attempts have also been made to cultivate the more valuable long staple Egyptian cotton in West Africa. A supply of seed received at Kew from Egypt was distributed to various Colonies, including the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos in January 1890. The plant requires an alluvial soil, a regular supply of water to the roots, and bright weather during the ripening of the pods. The flooded lands of the Niger Basin and the Coast lagoons offer suitable conditions for its cultivation. A sample of cotton grown at Aburi and received at Kew in November 1890 was reported upon favourably by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, who recommended that its cultivation should be encouraged. Another sample grown at Accra and transmitted to Kew by the Colonial Office in December 1890 obtained an even more favourable report from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; while a copy of a despatch from the Governor of Sierra Leone regarding experiments made in the Colony to cultivate Egyptian Cotton, transmitted to Kew in January 1893, reported that the experiments had not been successful and that it was not desirable to forward any further supplies of seed to that Colony.

For the benefit of those specially interested in this branch of culture, Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer states that the full correspondence relating to the subject is to be found in the *Kew Bulletin* Additional Series II (1898) pp. 11 to 27 and further makes the following remarks:—"It is extremely desirable to encourage agricultural industries in the West African Colonies. The facts

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recapitulated above support the view that the cultivation of cotton affords reasonable promise of success; it is somewhat surprising that it has not made more progress. They would appear to justify the address of a despatch on the subject to the Governors of the West African Colonies." The result of this application has not yet publicly transpired, but in the meantime the opinion of the Director of Kew is supported by that of Mr. J. Arthur Hutton of Manchester, who is closely connected with the African trade, and specially interested in the subject of cotton. Mr. Hutton has kindly written me under date of March 7th last, to the effect that he has seen many samples of wild cotton of West Africa and they have been generally good, and that he is convinced that the soil and climate are suited to cotton growing, and further that it would be a great advantage to Lancashire to have another good source of supply especially when the American crop is a partial failure. Besides which it would be a fine thing for West Africa to have some staple trade to depend upon other than those of Palm oil and rubber. On the broader basis of the cotton supply Mr. Hutton points out that roughly speaking Lancashire has only the United States to depend upon. The Indian cotton is not good enough for the bulk of the trade, and the Egyptian cotton is too good; as therefore the dependence is on America, that country naturally fixes the price for the cotton of the world, and frequently statements are made as to damage from drought, wet, frost, worms, etc., just when the crop is being marketed.

With regard to other fibrous plants space will not allow me to refer to them in detail; it will therefore suffice to say that the fibres from the inner barks of two plants found abundantly in West Africa have been reported upon very favourably in the London market. The first of these is a handsome flowering shrub belonging to the *Tiliaceae* and known as *Honckenya ficifolia* and in Lagos as "Bolobolo." It is a close ally to the Indian Jute plant, and furnishes a valuable fibre of that class, though much stronger. When first introduced the brokers' opinion was that its price would be regulated by that of jute, but that it would always command a somewhat higher price.

The other fibre referred to is that of the "Toja" (*Uvaria lobata*), a malvaceous shrub widely distributed over the tropics of both

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hemispheres; the bark abounds in a strong useful fibre described as a substitute for flax. It has been valued in London at from £17 to £18 per ton, but these prices, of course, depend much on the state of the market and the competition with other fibres. Among brush fibres and the supply of tying materials for garden purposes, nothing perhaps of recent introduction has been more important than the two products bass and raffia, both obtained from the same palm (*Raphia vinifera*) and both of which have been found good substitutes for the original materials. It is now some twelve years since African bass was first brought to notice, and an account of it will be found in the *Kew Bulletin* for 1891, pp. 1 to 5. It will suffice in this place to say that the palm, which forms a very large proportion of the forest vegetation over an area of 5,000 square miles in Lagos, is known as the Bamboo palm or Wine palm. The strong whalebone-like fibre is contained in the lower portion of the leaf-stalks, and is very easily extracted by a simple system of soaking and beating and removal of the fibres from among the cellular matter, and afterwards making up into bundles. This brush fibre soon became, and is still recognised as a regular article of commerce realising at first about £42 per ton, the price however has since declined somewhat in consequence of the competition of other similar fibres. Its use is chiefly for the manufacture of road-sweeping brushes. Quite a different product is the dried cuticle of the leaves of the same palm. This substance seems to have been first shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, and is referred to in a Report on the fibres exhibited in that Exhibition by Mr. C. F. Cross. Some valuable notes on this subject and suggestions as to the possibilities of the economic value of other allied species are given in the *Kew Bulletin* for 1895, pages 88 to 92, and 287—288.

With regard to the adaptability of this substance we may briefly say that besides its use as a substitute for Madagascar Raffia for tying plants, it possesses capabilities for the manufacture of mats, baskets, hammocks, and even for ladies' hats, for which purposes the Madagascar product has of late years been used.

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WOODS OR TIMBERS.

I have reserved the consideration of this subject till the last, not on account of its being less important than any other in connection with West African trade—but on account of its being one of the most recently developed, and perhaps one of the most difficult trades to establish.

The bulky nature of the material, and the great difficulty and length of time required to properly season timbers—especially those of tropical countries—for the home market are powerful factors against their profitable export; besides which there is the usual obstacle to new materials—prejudice. If the already established sources of supply are equal to the demand there is no need to look in any other direction, unless the wood has some special character to recommend it, or can be bought at a cheaper rate. These are considerations which often govern the fate of new products. Then again for the purposes of testing strength or durability logs of a considerable size are often required and the wood must be carefully selected—requirements not easily satisfied in many cases.

The timber resources of India and our Colonies generally have occupied much attention for some years past, and tropical Africa has had its share in that attention. One of the oldest and perhaps best known West African woods in this country is that commercially designated African Oak or African Teak, an extremely heavy, dark-coloured wood used for piles, camp-shedding, and ship-building. It is the produce of *Oldfieldia africana*, a tree of the natural order Euphorbiaceae, native of Sierra Leone. Of late years a good deal of timber has come into the English market under the name of African Mahogany, a name applied to it commercially on account of its similarity in appearance to true or Central American and Mexican Mahogany, to which indeed it is botanically allied. The American wood is the produce of *Swietenia mahagoni*, and the African of *Khaya senegalensis*. The last-named plant seems to be the source of only one kind of African Mahogany known at the present time in the English market. We are still awaiting more information both with regard to the botanical identification of other plants, and the extent of their growth and capabilities to

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supply any demand that may arise. A wood of a distinct character, and one that would appear to possess a special value for cabinet-work, is known as "Odum," and is furnished by *Chlorophora excelsa*—a tree belonging to the Urticaceæ and closely allied to the Mulberry. The wood is of a deep golden yellow or bronze colour, frequently marked with a wavy satiny lustre, and would appear to have sufficient beauty especially when polished to recommend it as a valuable furniture wood.

For a further consideration of the timber resources of West Africa we would commend our readers to Sir Alfred Maloney's *Forestry of West Africa*, as well as to the *Kew Bulletin*, especially to the volumes for 1890, page 168, and 1894, page 8, where the subject of West African Mahogany is specially treated.

In the foregoing pages I have only briefly considered the capabilities of a few of the best known economic plants of West Africa. Food plants such as fruits, farinaceous products, and others, such as drugs, oil seeds, dyes, or gums, have not even been touched upon. These are merely mentioned as further instances of natural products which may in course of time become sources of considerable revenue to the several Colonies. I cannot do better than conclude with an extract from the *Kew Bulletin* for 1897, pages 332–333, where Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer in some notes on "Botanical Enterprise in West Africa," says with reference to the training and work of the curators of the several Botanical Stations that "there can be little doubt that the opportunities afforded (for study) will be of considerable value in increasing the efficiency of the officers concerned, and in enabling them to disseminate the most recent information in regard to West African industries. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of such training, and there can be little doubt that the result will be apparent in a much more rapid advance in the material development of those Colonies which have hitherto been almost entirely dependent on trade in native and forest products, and have devoted little attention to the systematic cultivation of the soil."

JOHN R. JACKSON, A.L.S.

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PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO THE EXPLORATION OF NEW COUNTRIES

THE primary object of all exploration is to collect information, and if the information collected is to be of permanent use to other people, it must be recorded in such fashion that the records can be correctly interpreted by people other than the creator of those records.

A very large proportion of all the facts of interest and importance which fall under the observation of an explorer are visible facts which can be best recorded as pictures or diagrams. It rarely happens that mere verbal description alone can afford a mental picture at all comparable in the matter of accuracy to a good painting or drawing or a good photograph, supplemented by sufficient notes. It is therefore certain that an explorer who aims at the production of important work should be provided with adequate means for making accurate pictures, and he should be experienced in the preparation of maps and diagrams.

Formerly travellers had to depend largely upon their skill with pencil and paint brush to collect pictorial illustrations for the text of their written reports, but since the advent of modern dry plate photography and the more recent half tone printing process of reproduction photographs are nearly everywhere supplanting hand-made pictures for illustrative purposes.

With scarely any exceptions all the best modern books of travel are more or less copiously illustrated from photographs, and in a general way the more fully they are illustrated the better they are appreciated.

The photographs used for illustration purposes have been mostly taken and intended to be used as sketches had been mostly used before. They have been mostly taken with the

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idea of getting pretty interesting pictures of things seen by the traveller without any special reference to measurements of any kind. A large majority of people who take photographs have never learnt the art of photographic mensuration, and it is highly probable that even in these days there are many photographers who have never given any serious thought to this aspect of photographic utility, but the time will come when measurable records will to a large extent supplant the toy records of the past and present. People will want to know something about the heights and distances and depths of objects depicted.

The exploration of any country must always be incomplete until it has been surveyed.

The preparation of a map, if no good map exists already, or the filling in of omissions in existing maps will always be among the most important tasks which an explorer should set before him if he wishes to contribute effectively to the development of a new country. The quickest and best possible way to collect all the necessary information for making a map of any new country is to prepare a sufficient series of photographs overlooking the country from a number of station points judiciously chosen with reference to the character of the country to be surveyed and the scale of map which it is desired to make.

Good survey photographs may be quite as pretty as, and they will always be very much more useful than the ordinary run of photographs with which readers of modern books of travel are familiar. As every experienced photographer will know, it may very well happen that photographs which are taken in the ordinary way for picture making purposes only may very often yield untrue impressions.

The photographs are not really untrue projections, but the conditions under which they have been obtained may have been such as to yield pictures which tend to convey false impressions of relative size and distance as well as light and shade. The old saying that photography cannot lie may lead to much misconception unless it is correctly interpreted. In the sense that the photographic plate has only recorded the actinic light and shade impressions received on its surface, this is true. The plate has recorded truthfully. It could not do otherwise, but the impression conveyed to any one looking at a print from that

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photographic record may be altogether wrong. For example, suppose a camera is badly tilted when an exposure is made for taking a picture of a mountain range, the appearance of the range and all the peaks will be unnatural in the picture, just as would the appearance of a building if the camera were tilted up or down. Again, suppose a view embracing a large angle is condensed on a space of a few square inches. Whether this view is obtained by direct exposure in the camera or by subsequent reduction, the invariable effect will be to convey false impressions of exaggerated distance and smallness in the central regions, and exaggerated size and nearness towards the margin. If the tilted pictures could he looked at from the right spot while tilted at a corresponding angle to the original tilt, they would look right, or if the small wide angle picture could be examined through a lens opposite the middle of the picture and at the right distance, then that would look right, or if the small wide angle picture were made into a lantern slide and projected on a good flat screen, then it would look right to any one close up against the lantern lens. Suppose again that a patch were cut out of one of the corners of a wide angle picture and examined by itself—it would look wrong, and if it were projected by a lantern it would still look wrong if it were thrown on the central part of the screen, but if its position behind the lantern lens were shifted until its image fell upon that part of the screen where it would have fallen if the whole picture of which it formed a part had been projected in the ordinary way, then it would appear right from the position of the lantern lens. The above are only a few illustrations of the general proposition that photographic pictures may mislead as regards the outline and shape of bodies and as regards their size and distance.

Photographs originally obtained on film surfaces which were buckled at the time of exposure will always be bad and look wrong more particularly if the focal length of the lens was small and the buckling considerable. If it were possible to reproduce the exact buckled conditions and then examine the picture through a tiny aperture at exactly the right spot it might look right but in practice a badly buckled film with short focus lens gives a hopelessly bad inaccurate picture. Then as regards light and shade the ordinary tendency is for contrasts of light and

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shade to be exaggerated in a photograph and it is quite possible for the exaggeration to be so great as to lead to serious misapprehensions. On the other hand, in a very intense light with over exposure, or in a very subdued light with under exposure, marked differences of light and shade in the object may not be at all represented in the image. It will happen only rarely that the photographic picture will show contrasts of light and shade in exact proportion as the eye would see them. Among other considerations to be taken into account it must be remembered that different colours have different actinic values for the halogen salts of silver and unless tinted ortho-chromatic plates with appropriate colour filter screens are used there may be great inequalities of light and shade values in the picture corresponding to different shades of colour on different parts of the field of view. Altogether it is evident that either from careless manipulation or deliberate intention, photographic pictures may be so made as to mislead by the impressions they produce on the mind of a person looking at them. An explorer who intends to take photographs of new things and places for illustration purposes should first master the practical application of photography to the art of picture making by abundant practice on familiar objects within reach.

Some study and much practice are necessary before any one can become a proficient photographer for the most ordinary illustrative purposes. A little more study and a little more careful attention are necessary to secure accurate pictorial records of permanent value, but taken altogether the total amount of time and study and effort necessary to make a man a good photographer are not probably so great as would be required to make him a good illustrator with paint brush and pencil, and there is a much greater likelihood in most cases that an intelligent man will be able to become a proficient photographer than a really accomplished draftsman. Also there can be little doubt that the results obtainable by photography will be much more copious and of greater real permanent value for scientific and practical purposes than even the best artist's drawing.

It is not necessary in this article to attempt to explain the ordinary processes of photographic manipulation. There are many practical schools where adequate instruction can be

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gained in the everyday commonplace methods of procedure. An explorer should be intimately familiar with those methods and be competent to employ them to the best advantage but he ought to aim also at something better in the shape of indubitable accuracy in the results produced and the means for interpreting those results.

An accomplished photographer will have learnt by study and experimental practice how to obtain pictures which are sharply defined and full of detail with all sorts of shades of gradation of tone approximately corresponding to relative shadow values in the objects depicted. When he has learnt how to obtain good pictures he should certainly proceed to study the most elementary geometrical conditions which determine the relationship between the positions of points in the picture and points in the objects depicted, so that it may be possible to deduce the actual forms and dimensions of objects from photographs of those objects. The value of photographs for purposes of illustration and record is enormously increased if the photographs can be accurately interpreted to give exact information of concrete facts apart from mere sensual impressions of the light and shade appearance of objects depicted. When a photograph is taken of printed matter or manuscript or of a picture every practical photographer will know that the camera should be set up so that the surface on which the image is to be photographically impressed shall be truly parallel to the surface to be copied. Under these conditions with a good lens and truly flat surfaces for both object and image it is well known that the image surface will be an exact scale reproduction of the object surface, all linear dimensions on object and image being simply proportional to the conjugate focal distances of the object and image respectively.

Photographic enlargements and reductions and life-size reproductions are continually being prepared under these conditions and the accuracy of the photographic reproduction is indisputable and measurement from the photographs extremely easy.

It is not so generally understood that every photograph taken with a good lens on any plane surface is a geometrically correct projection which can be correctly interpreted if the necessary

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data for interpretation are known. Every plane photograph is a perspective view of the objects depicted and can be interpreted as a perspective if the data for interpretation are given.

The camera should be so constructed as to give these data automatically on the face of the picture at the time when the camera exposure is made. Cameras so fitted are now gradually finding their way into use among expert surveyors and no doubt in time the use of surveying cameras will become very general if not universal.

The chief data required are:—

(1) The principal point. (2) The principal horizontal line. (3) The principal vertical line.

Of these the principal point or centre is all important. If that point is not known or cannot be found the accurate interpretation of the picture is in a general way impossible.

When buildings or other artificially constructed bodies with regular geometrical outlines are the objects photographed it may be possible sometimes with more or less difficulty to deduce the principal data but with ordinary landscape views, this cannot be done unless the precaution has been taken to secure that the photographs shall bear definite marks on their faces to indicate the centre and traces of the two principal planes. A good surveying camera will be fitted with means for automatically recording the necessary information and the explorer should certainly possess a camera so fitted.

Then he wants to know (4) The orientation of his views, and (5) The station points from which the views have been taken. This information must be available when the picture is to be interpreted for map making purposes, and may be obtained from notes recorded in a note book when the pictures were taken, or better from automatic records on the pictures themselves such as can be secured by the use of a good modern surveying camera.

In these days most good cameras are provided with levels to indicate when the picture plane is vertical and for ordinary picture work when exact accuracy is not aimed at these levels serve their purpose but for all mapping and measuring purposes not only should there be accurate levels on the camera, but also convenient levelling arrangements, and a very rigid stand. An

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explorer should try to collect and record information with as much accuracy as possible, and not rest content with any standard of accuracy below the best which it is in his power to obtain. With the object of collecting as much accurate pictorial information as possible he should certainly start with reliable up to date apparatus which can be trusted to give accurate results without requiring too much detailed attention or too many supplementary notes. It is false economy and great waste of labour to take and use imperfect instruments when better can be had and in the case of survey photographs in particular there will be an immense saving of time and avoidance of risks of error and confusion from wrong or omitted entries if the apparatus records automatically the essential information required about the pictures. There have been some great improvements effected in surveying cameras in quite recent years so that the collection of standard pictures is not now a difficult matter. If the traveller can find time to study and practice the art of plotting from photographs he will find this a useful accomplishment, and in any case if he makes a good collection of survey pictures he or others can plot from them at leisure, and innumerable details can be picked out and plotted when they are wanted.

In selecting stations from which to take survey photographs it is generally best to choose spots overlooking the ground, as for example the tops of hills, or in towns the highest buildings but other stations may often with advantage be selected at different altitudes and at the bottoms of valleys. When it is desired to obtain series of contour lines the quickest and best plan is to select series of stations in ascending or descending order on a hill side or on several hills.

All points cut by the horizon at any station are at the same level as the station so that it is only necessary to plot on the plan points bisected by that line to obtain a contour. If this is done for a number of stations at different known altitudes a number of contour lines will be obtained of known altitudes corresponding to the stations.

When it is desired to fix positions on a map from photographs the best plan is to intersect direction lines to those points as seen from two or more stations. The principle of fixing by

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intersection of rays is exactly the same for photographs as for plane tabling in the field with the great advantage that it is more rapid and often more convenient.

The detailed method for plotting has been explained by the writer and others in various publications to which reference may be made by any reader who desires to practise mapping out from photographs. For making plans from landscape photographs, the plan of plotting intersections of direction rays is the simplest and most accurate and most generally applicable, but for constructing the plans and elevations of buildings it is sometimes more convenient to apply the principles and practice of perspective using photographs from two or more stations to check and control results.

As a general rule photographs as originally taken are too small for manipulative treatment as perspectives. They need to be enlarged several diameters at least when the difficulties will be of the ordinary character appertaining to the projection of ground plans and elevations from perspectives. If the photographer when he has to deal with buildings, will take care to obtain a fair proportion of full front and diagonal views this will often save trouble afterwards. In frontal views of flat surfaces all linear dimensions are exactly proportional in image and object. The geometric elevation and the perspective are the same. The scale is simply the inverse ratio of the perpendicular distance of the frontal plane from the lens to the focal distance of the picture.

The heights of points appearing in a photograph above or below the horizon line can either be determined by perspective methods and scale measurement or by simple computation of values in the formula $H = D \tan a$, when H is the height required to be found, D the distance and a the angle subtended at the station by a perpendicular from the point on the horizon plane.

The most modern surveying camera designed by the writer is fitted with cross hairs in the focal plane to trace the horizon and principal vertical lines which intersect at the centre or principal point.

It is provided also with an internal magnetic compass which records automatically the bearing of the principal vertical plane

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containing the axis through the centre and the station, and it is furnished with a tangent scale in the focal plane, which prints on the picture a scale of horizontal angles reduced to the plane of the horizon, and there are tablets in carriers for memoranda, whose shadowgraphs are printed as latent images on the sensitive plate at the same time as the rest of the picture. The accompanying pictures will help to illustrate many of the matters which have been discussed in the earlier part of this article. The views overlooking Trafalgar-square will be recognised by many readers, and to every one familiar with the principles of perspective it will be evident at once that those pictures are really perspectives. They are too small for exact use in the direct construction of ground plans and elevations from the pictures, but if they are enlarged sufficiently it will be found that all the known principles of perspective can be applied to them, so that all kinds of information which could be extracted from good perspective drawings can be obtained from the photographs enlarged to corresponding dimensions. The horizon and principal vertical lines can be seen running right across the pictures. The centre is of course the point where they intersect.

The curved scale at the top gives the magnetic bearing of the principal axis. The straight divided scale immediately below it is a scale of reduced horizontal angles. The writing in the rectangular spaces at the top right and left corners shows what memoranda relating to the picture were recorded by the operator for reproduction on the picture before the original photographic exposure was made.

The magnetic bearing of any point in one of these pictures from the spot where the camera stood when the picture was taken, can be obtained immediately by observing how far the image of that spot lies to the right or left of the principal vertical line, when the transverse (tangent) scale shows how many degrees of angle that distance corresponds to. If the point lies to the right the magnetic bearing is the sum of the compass and tangent scale readings, or if to the left then the difference. The focal length of the lens or the equivalent focus for any enlargement can be obtained by simple geometrical construction or computation from the tangent scale.

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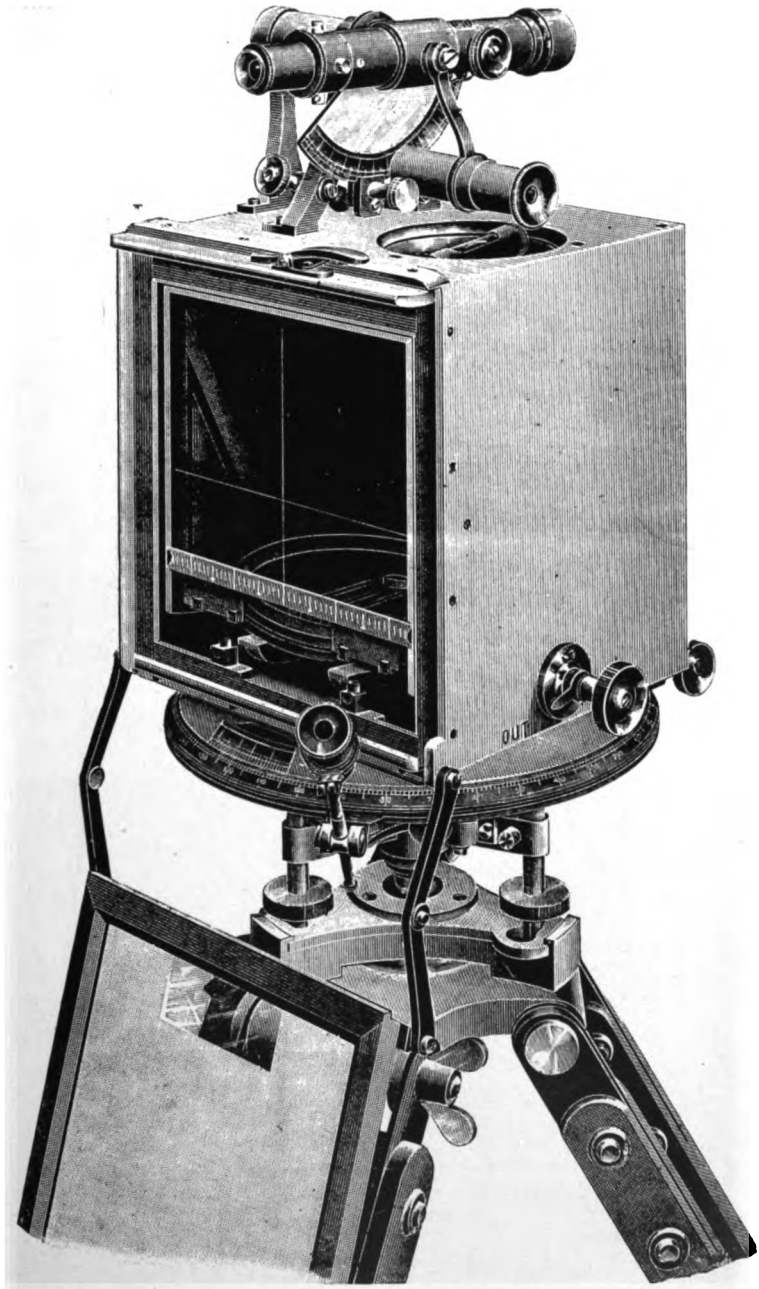

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If the position of the station point on a plan is known then, knowing the focal length and the orientation it is easy to rule the trace of the picture plane on the plan, and so set off any number of direction lines from the station to any number of points whose images are visible in the pictures.

If views from two stations are available (such for example as the brace of views of part of Trafalgar Square from Drummond's Bank and the Union Club), then the intersections of direction lines from the two stations to any point will fix the position of that point on the plan.

Perspective methods which are generally applicable with advantage to the interpretation of buildings or other objects largely composed of straight lines, are not as a rule applicable to landscapes, except in special classes of cases. Lakes, bays, rivers, canals, and other approximately level surfaces may be plotted or measured by aid of superposed squares in perspective, but the method of plotting by intersection of rays is always available, and gives most accurate results.

The other figure is a photograph of the instrument with which some of these photographs have been taken.

J. BRIDGES LEE, M.A., F.G.S.

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NATIVE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND LAND TENURE IN THE YORUBA COUNTRY

NATIVE Government in the Yoruba Country is similar in its character to the feudal system. There are lords and overlords, the King being Lord Paramount. Each tribe has its own king, who in that tribe is Lord Paramount. Every king has his chiefs, who are his advisers, and who with him form the Supreme Council for the Government of the Country. As each tribe is spread over a considerable area where the people congregate in towns and villages, the task of governing these towns and villages with adjacent lands is committed into the hands of subordinate chiefs resident in each town or village; the king himself being in the Capital.

Each chief of a town or village is supported by sub-chiefs who with him form the Council for the management of that town or village, and who decide all local matters. It is a very rare case indeed for any appeal to be made against the decisions of these chiefs: in fact within certain limits each chief is absolute in his town or village.

Villages of small size are generally under the wing or protection of the nearest large village or town of the same tribe.

Each of the chiefs of the large towns or villages is responsible to the King through some one or other of the higher chiefs who form the King's Supreme Council.

The chiefs who form the King's Council, and who are his advisers, are each responsible for different parts of the Capital, and one or more of the large towns or villages outside the Capital.

Hence the King governs through his chiefs, on whose fidelity the success of the Government mainly depends.

The King is generally appealed to only when there is a dispute

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between chiefs, or when intertribal matters are to be dealt with, or in the case of a treaty between any dependent towns and a foreign power. The King in such matters is absolute, and his word is final.

In the Capital, as in the towns and villages, there are fixed dates for the meetings of the Council, when each Councillor (chief or sub-chief) takes the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Any cases occurring in any portion of the Capital are taken before the chief, under whom that area is placed; he with the best men within that area forms a Council for dealing with such matters if they be difficult, or he deals with them alone if they be easy. Each chief gives an account of his district at the meeting of the Supreme Council.

Now, if this system be examined it will be found to be a simple, easy and uncomplicated system. It is workable, because it is simple, and is in keeping with the genius of the people. They understand it; they live and thrive under it. The power and authority of a chief is never questioned, nor can any chief dispute the paramountcy of the King. The equilibrium of the people is maintained. But when a foreign power steps in, an established principle is rudely upset, and a once united people disintegrated. A new and complicated and wholly foreign system is introduced, at variance with the best traditions of the people, entirely unsuited to their genius, and in the end productive of confusion and subversive of good order and discipline.

NATIVE LAND TENURE.—The basis of the life of the people of Yoruba is Agriculture. All lands in the country are in the keeping of chiefs for the members of the tribe to whom the lands belong. There is not a foot of land that is not claimed or possessed by some tribe or other, and the members of each tribe can apply to their respective chiefs for a grant of land to be used and cultivated for farming or other purposes. Any land so granted becomes the property of the grantee for life and for his heirs after him in perpetuity with all that grows on it and all that lies under it. But such land must be made use of; *i.e.*, it must be cultivated or used beneficially, if not, the grantee is liable to lose it, and it may then be given to another who will make good use of it.

So long as the grantee makes use of the land granted to him

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his power over it is absolute, except in one respect, viz. he cannot sell it. No one can dispossess him of it, except under the circumstances already stated, or unless the grantee becomes lawless, and is declared by the town or tribe to which he belongs an outlaw.

A stranger desiring to settle among a tribe other than his own can have land given him by applying to the chief under whose care the land is situate. Such land he will hold as above, but may be subject to some restrictions. All such restrictions relate to some products of the land, but subject thereto, the stranger holds the land for life, and his heirs and successors after him. If however any one, be he a member of the tribe or a stranger, ceases to utilize the land or removes away entirely from the land, the land reverts to the grantor; the grantee cannot sell it, and the grantor can give the land to any other applicant.

Any one to whom land is so granted can subgrant it to others, who in turn will hold what is granted to them subject to the same conditions as their grantor himself, only these subgrantees will be responsible to the subgrantor who in turn is responsible to the original grantor.

No land is granted for pecuniary consideration; that is, no land is given for so much money. A man to whom land is granted may make a present to the grantor if he so chooses; that is merely a private gift.

In this way every piece of land is owned by some one or other, and the boundaries are generally definite and clear.

In the Native System of Land Tenure not even a king has a right to alienate any land from him to whom it has been granted, unless indeed the man is guilty of negligence or lawlessness as above stated; and even then it is the Chief who has granted the land who dispossesses the grantee.

Thus any interference with land is certain to meet with the severest displeasure, and is sure to be violently opposed; for it touches the very existence of the people.

It is important to note that the idea of selling land is entirely foreign to the Native System.

FOREST PRODUCE.—There is no restriction as to Forest Produce like Rubber, Mahogany, etc. Any man to whom land is granted has absolute control and disposal of these.

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The so-called Forest Produce about which there is any restriction are Palm Nuts and Kola Nuts. Palm Trees and Kola Trees are usually or are supposed originally to have been planted. Even though there may have been some Palm Trees in a forest originally, they are not usually many, nor are they productive unless tended and cared for. Hence the existence of these trees in any quantity in any forest is a sure indication that such forest is owned and has been tended by some one. Now any land containing these trees can be granted to any applicant to be used and occupied by him, with this important restriction, *that the Palm Trees and Kola Trees belong to the grantor.* If the grantor be a chief and the grantee a stranger, this restriction is obeyed to the letter. If the grantee, however, be a member of the tribe, this restriction is generally withdrawn and the grantee acts as if there were no Palm Trees or Kola Trees on the land granted him.

In every case where this restriction obtains, the grantor collects the produce of the Palm Trees and Kola Trees, and the grantee cannot, rather *dare* not, touch them.

The man who plants Palm and Kola Trees knows that he is planting what will be a source of perpetual revenue to him and to his successors after him. With this knowledge and in this faith he plants as many as he can and devotes his energies to their cultivation and preservation, and as a natural consequence he can as a rule sell them to any one he pleases quite independently of the grantee or occupier of the land itself.

In some cases however the right to reap the palm trees is reserved to the Natives of the country and can under no circumstances be exercised by a stranger.

From this brief sketch it is obvious that the system of Tribal Government, in its simplicity, is the best adapted to the necessities and character of the Native and works well. The system of Land Tenure being what it is, it seems as if the best course to pursue is to leave things severely alone. Any interference in this matter, however well-meant, will be regarded with suspicion, will produce discontent and is bound to meet with strong opposition.

"A NATIVE OF YORUBA."

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PRACTICAL NOTES ON THE YORUBA COUNTRY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

THE late Sir John Glover, when Governor of Lagos, travelled much in the interior: he travelled with little pomp, shewed trust in the natives and won their confidence, so much so that he is still talked of everywhere in the Hinterland with respect and reverence. The numerous treaties which he made with different Chiefs were ignored by the Government of that day, and the Hinterland was neglected until 1893, when Sir Gilbert Carter made a three months tour into the interior. Since 1893 much has been done to open up the Hinterland, but unfortunately European merchants have taken no steps to ascertain what are the native products fit for export or what European goods the natives want to buy.

The people who inhabit the Lagos Hinterland are chiefly Yorubas and Egbas, they are a peace-loving race, fairly industrious, who prefer working on their farms and attending markets to the more exciting pastimes of war.

Lagos Colony is bounded on the North by the Bariba Country,[1] on the West by the French Colony of Porto Novo: on the South by the Atlantic Ocean: on the East by Southern Nigeria: and on the North-East by Northern Nigeria. There is an inland waterway or system of Lagoons extending from the River Volta in the Gold Coast Colony to Old Calabar in Southern Nigeria. The portion of this great Lagoon lying between Porto Novo and Old Calabar is for the most part deep, wide and free from obstacles except accumulations of grass. There is now a regular weekly mail service, by steam-launch, between Lagos and Porto Novo (60 miles): and between Lagos and towns on the Eastern frontier (about 150 miles).

[1] The Baribas are a fine warlike race, they do a fair amount of highway robbery, they breed large numbers of cattle and ponies, and always travel on horseback.

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Possibly the following facts about the peoples, Chiefs, titles, trade, etc. may be of interest to some of those who are anxious to hear about West Africa.

Titles and powers of the Principal Chiefs in Yorubaland.—Alafin : Oni : Oba : Owa : Oloja : are all equivalent to our word king, all other titles belong to officials who are subordinate, and are appointed by one of the above.

The Alafin of Oyo is the acknowledged head of all Yoruba speaking people. Yorubas living as far East as Benin, as far North as Bariba territory and West as Porto Novo formerly took all important cases to the Alafin of Oyo to settle. Since a British Resident has lived at Ibadan (1894), much of the power of the Alafin has been taken from him and vested in the Bashoron of Ibadan, who is supported by the Resident and the Lagos Government. Yoruba peoples resent this slighting of their principal Chief and being made to bow down to and obey a man who formerly held a very subordinate position in the country.

The Bashoron of Ibadan originally had no authority except in his own town, now, he has his own messengers in all principal towns who collect tolls for him (which by the custom of the country he has no right to) and people having disputes are taken to him instead of to the Alafin. If a man asks the Alafin to settle a case for him, the Bashoron complains to the Resident and the Alafin's finding is promptly upset. At the present time the Bashoron grants land, calls upon Chiefs to attend Councils, and to supply labourers for road-making and other works round Ibadan, or in other words usurps the proper functions of the Alafin. Ife is said, by the natives, to be the place from whence all peoples in the world first came ; consequently the Oni of Ife is consulted by all Yoruba natives as to the appointment of Principal Chiefs. In all Yoruba towns a Council of the Principal Chiefs is held every nine days, at which cases are heard and settled ; people from the surrounding villages attend these Councils and make complaints, etc. Usually the Councils settle disputes fairly and justly. Court fees are generally adjusted according to the means of the litigants, these fees are paid to the Oba. Each of the Principal Chiefs has charge of one of the gates of the town and receives all tolls, etc., collected at that gate, the usual toll is 1/-

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on every load entering a town. There are many Minor Chiefs who have charge of and are responsible for their quarter of the town.

None of the Chiefs from the interior are on the Native Council in Lagos, this advisory board being composed of people who have no knowledge whatever of the feelings of the people living in the Hinterland, hence the great dissatisfaction shewn by the natives with the new Forestry and Native Council laws. The Chiefs will always listen to and generally act upon advice given them by a European, if the said European does not interfere too much with their ancient customs.

Land and Boundaries.—All land and all forests are the property of the particular tribe, but are vested in the King and Chiefs of that tribe. No land may be sold. Any native of the tribe may take up and use land for farming, building or any other purpose when he likes. A stranger must get leave from the King and Council before he occupies any land for farming or any other purpose: he has to give some presents to the Chiefs before he can take possession of the land. At Ode Ondo, in the Eastern District, all houses as well as land are vested in the Oba Oshemowe who can turn any one out of a house. Kola trees are the property of the person who planted them, no matter to whom the land on which they grow may belong. Boundaries are always very clearly defined, rivers, hills, etc. are used as boundaries, where these do not exist a particular kind of tree is planted. There is a growing idea among young, energetic European officials that they must do something as soon as they arrive in a District, that something often takes the form of upsetting all native boundaries and making others, they rarely visit the places where the boundary is supposed to be. After a few months in the country these people write a history of the country and people, these histories are most interesting though scarcely accurate.

When Sir Smalman Smith was Chief Justice of Lagos he personally visited and settled all disputed boundaries, it is a pity his successors do not follow the same admirable method. The following is a good example of how land matters are settled now. A Lagos merchant wanted a concession on the *left bank* of the Yewa River, he paid a Chief of a small village on the *right*

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bank for the concession. When the merchant's men began to cut timber on the *left* bank, the owners of the soil objected and turned the labourers out of the forest: the merchant complained to the nearest official, who sent a party of Hausas to arrest the Chief, the legal owner of that part of the forest where the merchant wished to cut timber. The Hausas looted the village and took the Balé (a very old man) away, the Balé was put in prison, fined and finally died. The owners of the land had a bad time which they are not likely to forget, and what used to be a quiet peaceable district is now in a state of unrest.

Farms.—When natives wish to make a farm they cut down the forest, afterwards setting fire to the fallen trees, etc. They do not grub up the roots. After the burning is done, a crop of maize is sown (four seeds are planted together, each batch of seeds being about 4 feet apart). Two crops of corn are grown that year; the next year the land is dug over with a hoe, a deep graft of 18 to 24 inches being made, yams are then planted, ground nuts or some other crop follows, then in the fourth year two more crops of maize are grown, afterwards the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years. Where farms are near towns and cattle are likely to do damage to crops, the farms are fenced round with a hedge of the croton-oil plant; cattle will not touch this plant, so it makes an excellent and permanent fence. Yams, maize, Guinea corn, kassava, plantains, ground nuts, are the principal crops grown. Rice and arrowroot grow well, and more of these crops might be cultivated with advantage. Tobacco, of a good quality, is grown everywhere, and used by the natives. Cotton is grown in large quantities for home consumption, natives formerly sold a good deal of cotton to Lagos merchants, but the price now offered for cotton is so low that it does not pay the native to sell it.

Locusts appear in large numbers late in October and November, they do much damage to crops. If corn is sown early in July the fruit is fully matured in October, and able to withstand the assaults of locusts, as they only eat the young corn and yams.

At Shaki, the most northern town of the Yoruba country, there are large herds of cattle of a large kind which give plenty of good milk. Many of the cattle resemble the Indian humped

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buffalo. All these cattle are bred in the Bariba country. The cattle in other parts of Yorubaland and West Africa resemble Jersey cattle in size and appearance.

Palm oil, palm kernels, ground nuts, rubber, beni seeds, and different kinds of timber are the chief articles at present exported from Lagos. Oil and kernels take much time and labour to collect and prepare. The price now offered to the native for these articles is so small that he does not care to take them to market. After walking for five or six days with a load of oil or kernels, the native on reaching the market is expected to sell his produce for a sum which allows nothing for his labour or for the time occupied in going to and returning from the market; profit there is none.

Rubber is easily collected, a good price is paid for it and the native can make more in one day for a load of rubber than he will do in six months for oil or kernels. At one market on the Eastern boundary, a native trader can make 18*s.* or 19*s.* profit on every 60 lbs. of rubber he buys and he only has to take it a few miles *down* stream to a European Factory.

Much damage has been done to the rubber industry by the destruction of the trees. It is a much debated question whether a rubber tree ought to be tapped in the wet or dry season. If tapped in the dry season a better quality and larger quantity of juice is obtained and the tree has all the wet season during which to recover. The Fantees understand how to collect rubber with the smallest harm to the tree, they cut a channel (not too deep), and only on one side of the tree. The natives of the country follow the Fantees, they do not understand how to collect the juice, and do not care what damage they do, they tap the same tree several times all round. In many parts of the country they cut the tree down to save the trouble of climbing it. According to the new Forestry laws, the Fantees will no longer be allowed to collect rubber in the Lagos Hinterland. The vine (Landolphia) rubber grows plentifully all over the Lagos Hinterland, for some reason the merchants do not encourage natives to collect this rubber although the juice is better and more valuable than that of the Issa. This vine may be cut and knocked about without being seriously damaged, it will recover and be ready to tap again after the first rains. There has been

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much correspondence wasted and trouble caused by some people calling the Landolphia "root rubber," and saying the rubber came from the roots. In Southern Nigeria owing to this scare the collection of Landolphia was forbidden during 1900 and 1901.

At Abbeokuta and Ondo some natives have planted Ceara rubber trees. The rubber from this tree is next in value to Para rubber, it comes from South America, and has been found to give good results in East and Central Africa. It is a quick growing tree being ready to tap when four or five years old. The seeds should be allowed to fall from the trees and sow themselves, when the young plants are 2 feet high they should be transplanted and planted in rows not less than 12 feet between each plant; all branches should be cut off and the tree trained to grow in one straight stem. This tree is very similar in appearance to the Pappaw tree. V-shaped channels should be cut through both barks, care being taken not to cut the wood of the tree, the juice will then run freely and dry on the tree, when dry the rubber can be easily taken off and rolled up. A specialist in England says, "although this tree thrives in West Africa the juice may not be of the same quality as that collected in South America." But it is worth trying. Many hundred Ceara rubber trees will be ready to tap in the Ondo District this year. Unfortunately in Lagos an official report has been printed condemning this Ceara rubber and the natives do not know what to do. It is said:

1st. "That the Ceara rubber tree loses all its leaves twice a year and it is of no use as a shade to coffee plants." Are rubber trees only grown to shade coffee plants? As a matter of fact, however, the Ceara rubber tree does not become leafless at any season of the year.

2nd. "The juice will not run during the day-time and can only be collected at night." This also is wrong as the juice runs freely in the middle of the day.

The tree (Ire) from which rubber is now collected in Lagos Colony grows very slowly, a seed placed in the ground will germinate in about one month, at 12 months old it will, if well watered and attended to, be about 1 foot high, the tree is not ready for tapping until it is about 15 years old. Self-sown seeds

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thrive and grow much more rapidly than those collected and sown in gardens. The following statements about this rubber tree have been published, they are most misleading and could not be substantiated.

"That a tree (Ire) will be 6 foot high in the first twelve months after being planted."

"That 2 lbs. of rubber is collected from a tree 7 years old."

"That no trees should be tapped that are less than 3 feet in circumference."

These trees rarely if ever exceed 2 feet in circumference.

The French are planting Para rubber in their West African Colonies, it grows well in West Africa.

There are numerous kinds of fibre in the Yoruba forests which might be of some value if sent to Europe. The merchants in Southern Nigeria ship a considerable quantity of Piassava. The Germans ship a cane from their Colonies for making chair bottoms, this cane grows plentifully in all swampy parts, it is tough and lasts a long time, it is used for making baskets by the natives.

Cocoa-nut oil, many kinds of pepper, gum, gutta percha, dyewoods, roots and bark used for tanning purposes; "Dragon's blood," "Strophonthus Hispidus" (Issa) (used for heart disease), all these valuable native products are neglected by Lagos merchants, though the Royal Niger Company pay high prices to people to collect them and would scarcely send them to Europe unless there was some profit to be made out of them.

Besides mahogany there are quantities of camwood, so-called ebony, iroko, and many other timbers which might pay for cutting and sending to Europe. In 1897 a collection of the different kinds of hard woods was made and taken to the Governor of Lagos with descriptions of the uses, etc., of the various woods. In the same year (1897) a case of seeds and other native products with a full description of each, their then value in England and cost of collecting was sent to Lagos, both these collections instead of being exhibited were allowed to disappear without any good being done. The forests of not only the Lagos Hinterland, but of all the West Coast of Africa will continue to be unprofitable until some really highly trained man has been put in charge of this most important department.

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It would, probably, pay the Lagos Government, to engage an officer from the Indian Forest Department (at a good salary) and a party of Indians to take charge of the Forest Department and to instruct the Yorubas in the treatment and care of forests.

Waterways.—Lagos is singularly fortunate in her inland waterways, but hitherto they have been much neglected, it would cost a comparatively small sum to deepen the channel by dredging between Lagos and Leckie (to the East). After passing Leckie there is a deep, broad channel never less than 20 feet deep, to Benin River. The large Ocean steamers which now go up the Benin River might easily go to a point on the Lagoon (Arogbo), where Southern Nigeria and Lagos Colonies join, and be met there by lighters or small steamers, this would save much money, steamers, and goods which now are lost annually on the Lagos Bar. Many of the rivers flowing into the Lagoon might be made navigable for launches and canoes and would do much in opening the country for trade.

Roads.—The Yorubas appreciate good wide roads, as they can then travel by night and more rapidly.

It is not difficult to teach the natives road-making. When they have been shewn what sort of road to make, it is best to let the people do the work in their own way, any arranging of gangs, and interference only delays the work. This refers to getting roads made by free labour without cost. Roads should be 12 feet wide and as straight as possible.

Labourers.—Plenty of good carriers can be obtained at from 5*d.* to 9*d.* a day in the Lagos Hinterland. If loads are made narrow and low, very heavy loads can be carried; high, wide loads catch in the trees and get knocked off the men's heads. Some officers parade their carriers, march them off by sound of bugle or whistle, try to make them keep in line, punishing them severely if they do not keep in line or if they put down their loads without orders. The usual result of this plan is that loads are thrown down, broken, and often lost. If a labourer is told to take his load from one place to another in his own way, if a reasonable time is given him, and if he is treated fairly, it is surprising how comfortably a European can travel and how few of his goods and chattels are broken or lost.

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Where there is much mining or railway work labourers are attracted by the promise of high wages, and no one is left to attend to the farms, consequently the necessaries of life, such as yams, Kassava, etc., become expensive. Yams in such cases rise from 20 yams for 1/- to 5 yams for 1/- and other food-stuffs in proportion.

A native prefers a small wage regularly paid to a high wage which is cut down to very little by fines and stoppages.

Liquor.—The harm done by the importation of spirits is very much exaggerated. Drunkenness among natives in the Hinterland, who have not been improved by civilization, is uncommon. European gin is so adulterated before it reaches the consumer that it is often difficult to tell whether there is any spirit at all. The quantity of spirits imported into Lagos every year, probably, allows about one bottle per head per annum for the whole population of Yorubaland. A great deal of spirit landed in Lagos goes to the French Colony of Porto Novo. Have the people who write and lecture on the Liquor question ever been off the beaten track or have they ever seen any drunken natives except among the educated classes in and near Lagos? Country people will not buy gin when they can get palm wine and native beer for next to nothing.

Minerals.—No gold has been found in Yorubaland. Lignite or brown coal has been found near Abbeokuta. It might be worth while boring to ascertain the depth and thickness of the seam and whether any better coal lies lower down.

A seam of Bitumen runs for about 60 miles East and West in the Eastern District; it is not inflammable. The natives use this for repairing canoes. There might be mineral oil underneath.

"WHITE ANT."

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AN AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

BENTY, GUINÉE FRANÇAISE.

IT has been suggested to me that the readers of the *African Journal* would be interested to know the nature of my relationship with the natives while following the business of a planter on the African Coast.

I shall appear paradoxical by saying first of all that I am quite satisfied with them.

You know the formula "the negro will make no effort, and no regular work can be got out of him"; it is announced as an axiom—simple, absolute, universal. The traveller is daily informed by those from whom he seeks information that all his trouble will be of no use. What chance can he have of getting anything out of the land if its inhabitants refuse to work? Almost every white man he meets on his way out to Africa expounds the same doctrine. So for the most part he contents himself with solving the difficulties of the voyage and mapping out a route. For twenty years Africa has been crossed and re-crossed on every side, but in point of fact do we know much more than the name and the dress of the people who inhabit it?

And yet any traveller in these countries who looks about him must be struck with the energy displayed. I confess that it was a revelation to me to watch the activity on the Soudanese trade-roads by the banks of the Great Niger, and in the markets of the towns. For months I went through plains admirably cultivated, thanks to continuous labour during the rainy season; and when the dry season arrived I met, in infinite numbers, these same agriculturists transformed into merchants, selling throughout the Soudan the products of their fields; while in the

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towns I found myself confronted with a regular commercial organization.

No doubt we have in the Soudan the finest of the African peoples: Bambaras, Fulani, Songhays, Hausas, etc. The inhabitants of the Coast and Equatorial regions are far inferior to them: but the inland countries are as yet inaccessible and it is with the inhabitants of the Coast we have to deal at first. It seems evident that trading activity has extracted from these people the maximum that can be obtained by present methods and if the "exploitation" of Black Africa does not undergo some change, the process may suddenly find itself brought to a stand.

There is in fact at this moment a sort of latent crisis in the European trade with West Africa. We may except regions where the oil-palm grows luxuriously, and provides a wealth which the native cannot destroy by exploiting it because it is from the fruit alone that he can make profit: if the merchants do not gather in too great numbers and develop too intense a competition, these regions will for years to come furnish a useful article of exchange for European trade. Elsewhere—save in districts where mining development or timber concessions give rise to an activity that must of course be temporary—business becomes more and more difficult. "Exploitation" is based upon the exchange of European goods for articles strictly limited in number: hides, gum, and especially rubber. The number of firms trading on the Coast increases every day and purchase-price goes up proportionately, whilst the natives adulterate products more and more (especially rubber) and exhaust the vines. Profits steadily decrease and the condition of the Colonies themselves becomes precarious. This method of "exploiting" West African countries is irrational, and can only give momentary results. A commerce which is not based upon agriculture or real industry, is simply an anomaly.

This is a fact which is not I think disputed by any competent person interested in the West Coast. But everyone seems agreed in insisting that the development of agriculture or the creation of industries in the country is impossible, always on account of the famous principle that the Negro will not work.

It is quite true that the Negroes who work in the factories on

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the Coast appear anxious to justify this formula. I can only tell you my conviction that if the Europeans have this difficulty in making the Negroes work, it is because they have not troubled to understand that they had to do with a people of a different nature to their own, towards whom they should play the part of educators if they wish to inculcate in them the special kind of activity that they themselves possess. There is a celebrated phrase of your Carlyle according to which "The black is after all a simple idiot." The unfortunate thing is that a good number of people in Africa seem to be of this opinion. Nothing is more fallacious. Apart from microscopical exceptions—bearing in mind the mass of the population—there are no savages in Tropical Africa. But here I am indulging in a treatise instead of telling you simply what were my first experiences with the natives. I return to my plantation.

The ground which I had chosen as a site for work was at the mouth of the Mellacoree River in the neighbourhood of the village of Benty. The extent of the Concession is about 2,000 *hectares* (nearly 5,000 acres). The river has the advantage of being accessible to large steamers and of being pretty near both Conakry and Sierra Leone, but it was specially on account of the labour question that I settled at this place. The planter must avoid as far as possible trade centres. Where there are numerous factories, the natives have contracted all sorts of bad working habits, which it is very difficult to get rid of. Available labourers are rare, and they have to be highly paid. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that in all the trade centres on the Coast labour is paid for at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* per day. Our agricultural workmen in Europe earn less than that, and at such prices one of the advantages of African "exploitation" has disappeared.

The Government of French Guinea has created a regular land law, which has at least the advantage of being very simple, and is moreover calculated to avoid difficulties between the concessionnaire and the natives. These are held to retain the ownership of their land, but they can only dispose of it with the assent of the Governor. The country is divided into a certain number of districts, each of which depends on a head Chief. When a European desires to acquire a concession he

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must first of all come to an understanding with the Chief to whom the land belongs. He signs with him an emphyteutic[1] lease for 99 years on the following terms. He must pay annually a certain rent, and as long as he pays that rent he alone has the right to break the contract, but only with the approval of the Governor. Ill-will on the part of the Chief is not to be feared, because the Government of the Colony would intervene in such a case; and in the same way would reduce the rent if it were too high. For my part I pay 500 frs. a year to the Almamy of Samo.

I had asked M. Jaquey, one of my companions in the Soudan who had lived there over two years as manager of Government Nurseries, to accompany me in the position of agriculturist. He knew the natives well, had obtained a great deal out of them, and did not believe in the afore-mentioned legend any more than I did. The Government gave him leave to follow me. We arrived at Benty on April 8th. There were a few hamlets of five or six huts on my concession. I settled myself in one of them, near which was an old abandoned factory, and leased two huts from the Chief for our lodging. We were to begin by starting a castor-oil plantation. The first thing was to get hold of labourers. Public opinion on the river was anything but encouraging. For example, I was told by the agent of a Benty factory that for some time back he had been unable to recruit even the small amount of labour which he needed. Moreover we had no time to lose. We had only a few weeks before the beginning of the rains, which is the sowing season, and all the ground had to be cleared. Here perhaps the simplest thing will be to summarise a few of my daily notes.

20th April.—The day after our arrival ten men presented themselves asking to be employed. I offered to pay them monthly, by drafts which they could exchange at the factory of the French West African Company at Benty for 25 frs worth of goods, and further to give them a daily ration of 750 grammes of rice (about 1⅔ lbs.). They accepted, and the next day I set them at work. The same morning the Almamy came to see me

[1] "Bail emphytéotique"—a lease under which the lessee undertakes to improve the land by clearing or building, and has the profit of his improvements at the end of the term.

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in grand array, escorted by the Chiefs of the neighbouring village. We at once discussed labour. Everyone was unanimous in refusing payment in goods. As I was indifferent in the matter I consented to give specie, hoping thus to pay a smaller nominal price, and it was understood that I should pay the men 20 frs. and the children 10 frs., with rice.

The Almamy had hardly departed when my labourers came in and declared that they they wanted 25 frs. per month and 15 frs. for the children, besides the rice. I refused, and in the evening I had no workmen; and the same thing occurred next day. I was very much perplexed. I might procure workmen at a cheap rate by sending for some Timinis who inhabit the Sierra Leone frontier, but I was in a hurry, and I was not quite sure under what conditions this recruiting could be undertaken. On the other hand there was great advantage in employing the inhabitants of the country. On my concession alone I could find the greater part of the workmen I needed. As in point of fact the price which was demanded was the price which I had from the first foreseen, I declared that animated by great magnanimity and to show my goodwill towards the local inhabitants I accepted, being at the same time quite decided in my own mind to decrease this sum on the first occasion. On the 12th we had 13 men and 17 children: on the 13th, 21 men and 26 children: on the 15th 45 men and 35 children, in all 80 people.

A staff of fifteen men has since been busy cutting down the underwood of saplings which covered part of the plantation. We tried to root out the big tufts of gigantic grass which here form the bush. We took three days at the job with 25 men. The work was very difficult and slow. The hard roots had to be dug out with spades, and at the end of these three days, although the men had worked systematically, barely a *hectare* (nearly 2½ acres) had been cleared and 20 spades out of 24 had been rendered useless. If all the concession was covered with such bush, we might abandon the idea of cultivating any great extent this year. It has cost us 100 frs. to clear a single *hectare*. We stopped this sort of exercise, and started everybody, or rather all our men, cutting down the saplings in the wooded parts. This work can be speedily performed, and seven or eight men can clear one *hectare* per day. During the

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18th and 19th more than 10 *hectares* (about 25 acres) were cleared of brushwood.

During two days the children cleared a space where the bush was small enough to be easily removed. When they had cleared all they could, M. Jaquey set them to prepare the ground for the seed. We first of all thought that the easiest thing would be for them to dig furrows, and half a *hectare* (1¼ acres) was prepared in this manner in the course of a single day. It then appeared to us that it would be better only to till the ground at the exact place where we wished to sow the castor-oil seeds. We placed the children in a row with orders to make little mounds of earth about two feet distant from one another. On the 18th and 19th they prepared in this way four *hectares* (10 acres). When the rains began we had then only to plant the seed on the crests of these heaps.

A young Negro who knows how to read and write has fallen from Heaven, so to speak. We have bestowed upon him the position of surveyor at 60 frs. per month, without rations. During the last few days he has supervised the children because the men were displaying sufficient energy in cutting down the trees, and there was no need to watch them strictly.

The temperature is quite bearable, although we are in the hottest period of the tropical year. We have always a good sea-breeze which refreshes us, and moreover we have had worse experiences than these in the Soudan. Time passes with incredible rapidity, although each day is like the last. We get up at 5 o'clock and breakfast: at 5.30 the workmen are summoned. We go to the fields with them and stay there until the heat begins, *i.e.* until 8 or 9 o'clock. We read and write a little, lunch at 10, have a vague siesta until 1 o'clock, when the workmen who returned at 11 start out again. We then tackle our various occupations: one of the principal ones for me consists in medically attending to the sick and the maimed, which gives me the legitimate reputation of a good fellow! Towards 4 o'clock we examine with an owner's eye what our workmen have accomplished in the day, and plan what we shall give these barefooted co-operators to do to-morrow. We go in to dinner and before long, as can be easily understood, we go to bed. In short everything appears to be proceeding in the best of all possible

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ways, and the only thing we have got to hope is—as an amiable joker said to us before our departure—that bismuth instead of castor oil shall not grow up in our fields!

Monday 22nd April.—We have decided to stop the wood-clearing and to begin burning operations. It is absolutely necessary to finish the latter job before the rains, and it is a longer affair than the clearing itself. In the Soudan all one has to do is to set fire to the bush, and it burns away completely. Here the small yellow grass alone disappears and the leaves of the trees are hardly scorched, the damp of the atmosphere being too great and the sap too abundant for fires to do their work as in truly tropical regions. We had thought at first that the children would accomplish this work sufficiently well, as it would only mean the game of lighting fires; but this turns out to be no mere pastime here, and last week they took a whole day and a half in *not* burning a single *hectare* (2½ acres); so this morning I turned on the men and they have done fairly well. They hewed the long branches which they had cut down into logs of 50 centimetres (under 2 feet), packing them closely together. Then they set fire to them. The best method of course would be to cut down the saplings three or four months before the rains. At the end of that time they would be dry enough to burn without difficulty.

Tuesday 23rd.—The workmen we employ belong to two different races, and as was inevitable they have divided themselves into two gangs, the Mandingoes on the one side, and the Susus on the other. The Mandingoes are reputed to work harder. I shall thus be able to verify this: at any rate they talk less. They have continued to burn the underwood previously cut. It is really a long job, especially as the blacks apply their system to it which consists in not hurrying. Thus after having spent a quarter of an hour in preparing the fire, they lose half an hour in watching it burn. But nothing can be done. It is difficult to make them go quicker, because they take some trouble over the job, and if we hurried them they would certainly be less conscientious. I do not think they burned to-day more than 2 *hectares* (5 acres). The children have almost entirely prepared the great slope of the plateau which we attacked first of all, about 8 *hectares* in extent. They then started on the

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large plateau which forms the summit of the concession. On that plateau are to be found, in the midst of stretches covered by great tufts of bush, some spaces formerly cleared by the natives. They form a great circle with an area of 5 or 6 *hectares* (12½ to 15 acres) which surrounds a small island of bush. When everything else is burned, the men will remove these tufts, *coûte que coûte.*

Friday 26th.—All this time work has continued in good style. The men cut down the trees, burn them, and the children prepare the soil for seed. I watched them at work this evening, and in 2 hours they had dug up a hectare. I hope that we shall be able to clear the bush from the plateau next week, but I shall try to give this work to be done by the piece.

Tuesday, April 30th.—My first pay day. I have no reason to complain of the work done. In a fortnight we have cleared and prepared for seed about 30 *hectares* (nearly 75 acres). The anxiety as to what is going to happen to-morrow prevents me nevertheless from reflecting on this result with the pleasure I should otherwise enjoy. Palavers are once more going to begin. Meanwhile without further reflections I shall go to bed because I do not feel that my mind can soar much beyond it.

Sunday, May 5th.—1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of May, strike days. Wednesday everybody turned up at the call dressed in white, which hardly indicated a firm intention of working. I made them a little speech which consisted in telling them that I would henceforth pay them according to the work done. The day before I had marked out with four saplings a space of one *hectare* and had shown them what this arithmetical expression signified. I told them that they had only got to group themselves according to their own liking, and that when any one gang had finished clearing a *hectare* I would pay to it 40 frs. in specie: that apart from that I had decided to employ by the day only 8 men for the various works on the farm, and all the children: that I should henceforth pay the workmen engaged by the day according to the following tariff: men, 25 frs. and no rice, children 15 frs. and no rice. Then I warned them that if any of them refused these conditions and went away I should never again employ them except by the job.

With a remarkable unanimity—the men of the village giving

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the signal—every one rose up and disappeared. The traders of Benty assured me that in their view it would be difficult for me to succeed in getting my reduced wages accepted, and that as for working by the job it was improbable that they would even consider it, seeing their inherent laziness.

Wednesday and Thursday were passed in the calm which we had already experienced at the time of the first strike. On this occasion I was resolved not to give way. M. Jaquey had assured me that it would be advisable to postpone the sowing of a portion of the seed until September, so as to make sure which was the best season for the growing of the castor oil plant. A few children would suffice to sow the 30 *hectares* which were prepared. We had therefore ample time to allow these people to reflect.

As we had guessed the reason that the Negroes do not care much to work for white men just now is that they themselves have their plantations to look after. We had proof of it in the simple fact that on Thursday the Chief of our village came to say good-bye, because he was going into the Samo to grow rice with his family. The village remained half deserted. One thing vexes me somewhat, that although the Chief had told me that he would send me the children who did not go with him I am still awaiting them.

Friday.—As no workmen turned up, I determined to employ radical measures. I decided to go to Farmoréah, a large village at the end of the river, to seek for labour. As if by enchantment no sooner had the news become known than the people who remained in the village, now ruled by one of my old workmen named Momo, came to tell me they would agree to work by the job. I said there was room for everybody, and they might set to work, but that would not prevent me from seeking other labourers.

Having arrived at Farmoréah, I sent for the Chiefs and explained what I wanted. They seemed very pleased with my visit and assured me that whenever I wanted anything they could furnish I should have it from them: but that is a promise which will always be given to you in Africa. Accompanied by the Chiefs I measured out a *hectare* in a neighbouring field to show them what I wanted. They

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explained that they would send some one to a Timini village three hours distant from Farmoréah who would bring me back all the men I wanted. At seven in the evening they returned saying their man had not yet come, but that on the morrow I should receive my workmen. At 9 o'clock I left Farmoréah, and at 1 o'clock I was back again at my capital.

During my absence M. Jaquey had cut down the trees round the old factory, and we decided to build another roof to it and thus transform it into a sort of "grand hall" in which we could pass the rains, while waiting for the dry season to construct a more decent habitation. Fellah, my superintendent, is to bring me to-morrow from his village some children whose parents have accepted my new tariff. I will give them 10 frs. in specie and the rest in rice.

Sunday.—Momo and his gang asked Jaquey to measure them a *hectare*. I had prepared a cord of 50 mètres. As Jaquey took twice this length,[1] Momo asserted that I had said that only one string should be measured and that it was useless to continue. Yesterday he returned to better sentiments, after a good talking to on my part, and this morning he started out to work with four or five companions.

Rains are becoming very frequent and M. Jaquey thinks that we shall be able to begin to sow in a week.

Monday May 9th.—Work has started again.

On Monday a new contractor presented himself and Tuesday four "lots" were being worked. My good men look to me as if they were making an experiment. They shall find it decisive. Momo has cleared his *hectare* in 4 days with three men, which gives them each a profit of 4 frs. a day. This was evidently dear, but the said Momo had certainly diminished his *hectare*. I did not appear to notice it for the first time, but I shall not give him any more work. By rights the men earn in this way 2·75 frs. a day. In any case it is cheaper for us than work by the day, and there is no need for any supervision. The same Tuesday M. Jaquey showed me the first tufts of castor-oil plants whose leaves were sprouting in the garden. We at once decided to begin planting, and this morning we have put every labourer we have to work. Day-labourers indeed are not

[1] One *are* = 100 metres; one *hectare* = 100 ares.

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numerous. The Chiefs of Farmoréah seem to have made fun of me. I have never seen anyone yet from that amiable country. We shall have to lay hands on some more children, but as yet we have only got five. Everyone is busy planting rice, and as the children mostly do the work I fear that they will not be forthcoming.

Monday May 13th.—I think that we have won a victory in the matter of work by the job. Every day new enthusiasts present themselves. In a week 20 men will have cleared 9 *hectares* (over 22 acres).

Tuesday 14th.—For 4 days, from the moment we began to sow, the regular rains of every month have ceased and our plants refuse energetically to show themselves, which has a little troubled us. To-night at last we had a good down-pour and the weather seems rainy. The number of children increased towards the end of the week. We have 12 men and 12 children working by the month. Six men have cleared the ruins of the factory from the exuberant vegetation which surrounded it. When we have got the necessary material from Conakry we shall begin repairs.

Sunday May 19th.—This week end has been fairly well occupied. Our present workmen are incapable of putting up a roof and we have to turn into carpenters. M. Jaquey makes the plans, and I wield the saw, chisel, and mallet for the tenons and mortises. For two days we have eaten no bread. Our agricultural manager has not a moment to waste on providing this luxury. We have however been fully rewarded. The plants are beginning to appear. Workmen present themselves in numbers, but we only take the children. We have 20 children and they are amply sufficient for the planting. For five days it has rained every night.

Thursday May 30th.—The twelve days which have just gone by have been days of calm and good work. The rains have become regular and the castor-oil plants appear on all sides growing vigorously. The work on the plantation goes on as before. The men on piece-work have been busy removing the big patches of bush, and the children and men paid by the day have gone on planting the cleared surfaces. All this work differs from that of the preceding week not only in quality, but

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above all in the spirit with which each man dug, planted, or cleared. Our labourers have become divided into selected groups, partly because we turn away remorselessly all those of the Lazzaroni type, and partly because of the piece-work system. The gangs of labourers who asked to clear the bush were not long in falling out, each one accusing his neighbour of doing less than himself while taking an equal part of the profits, so that the number of Negroes working in gangs diminished, and the lazier ones alone continued to farm in groups. We have been able to reckon the time each man took to clear a *hectare* and his degree of activity, and we have refused to give new work to those who went too slowly. The result, which did not astonish us in the least, was that we found ourselves one fine day without any Susu workmen, either because they were tired of working to our taste, or because we found that they did not tire themselves enough. These Susus form the most important race of French Guinea, the others only being there as emigrants, so to speak. One could write a long history on the character, or rather the absence of character, of the Susu race. It is certainly one of those which might best justify the belief of so many people that the Negroes are beings who live without doing anything from morning to night (the inverse proposition being certainly not accurate, because from the evening to the morning all Africa dances).

The inhabitants of this country have just passed through a period of some years during which they earned a great deal without much effort. Their slaves went into the back country to seek for rubber, which was sold at a very high price compared to the effort expended to acquire this product. In this trade the masters did not need to exercise the slightest initiative and became unaccustomed to all work, especially as they were sufficiently clear-sighted to lay by money when the rubber trade was prosperous.

I have always thought that among so many different races in Africa there would always be found at least one able to carry out anything we might demand. That is what happened to us. There are in Guinea a large number of natives who came from the Soudan, and are called Mandingoes, through a distortion of the word Mandé, which is their generic name in Central Africa. They have

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preserved here some of the qualities of the Soudanese peoples, and without being too indulgent one must admit that they work well enough to deserve their wages, and to make possible agricultural enterprise such as ours. Our experiment seems to me conclusive. In 45 days we have cleared and planted 50 *hectares* (nearly 125 acres) covered with underwood or very thick bush, and we have not employed a daily average of more than 60 workmen. About 100,000 feet of castor-oil plants have sprouted, and we have only got to weed them during the rainy season.

We may now consider how the question of labour has worked out for us. The succeeding months have shown us that we had not miscalculated. In June, July, and August the weeding of the plants took place. We had hoped that it would be an easy work, but that was an error. The rapidity with which rank grass grows in Africa constitutes probably the greatest difficulty planters will have to face. During these three months we employed 12 men and 18 children, and nearly every day some people presented themselves asking for work.

A study of the fibre plants of the region showed us that a certain species of banana gave fibres equal to those of Manilla hemp, which would increase the revenue derived from the fruits of this tree. We resolved to undertake the planting of bananas. Rains ceased falling continuously this year on the 25th August, and from that time it only rained at night during the month of September and the month of October, which is quite sufficient for the cuttings of the bananas to take root. We get these cuttings by buying them from the natives at ½*d.* each. To plant them we make holes 60 centimetres deep and 50 centimetres broad, at the bottom of which we put some grass, which as it rots provides a light manure. During these two months of September and October our fixed staff has been composed of 10 men and 53 children. Some of the holes were made by piece-work—a ½*d.* for two—but the children's work was quite as advantageous. We have just stopped this planting on the 15th October, at the approach of the dry season. In two *hectares* we have put out the plants 2½ metres apart (under 3 yards), to see if in this way we can obtain long stalks. In 5 other *hectares* we have taken the normal distance, *i.e.* 5 metres. We have also planted 9,000 square feet of bananas.

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This is the result of our experiment up to the present. The leisure hours of my planter's life do not allow me any long spell of philosophizing; but is it very necessary? and do you not think that we have no cause to speak ill of the Negroes? If you care to have my true conviction I tell you frankly that it does not seem to me that it is the Negroes who specially need to alter their manners, but the European contingent on the Coast.

It must be recognised that the moral and intellectual quality of the great majority of the employés of factories is very limited, to say the least, and it can be easily understood that such people, to whom the Blacks are mere animals only fit to be managed by the whip, cannot obtain good results. As far as we are concerned we never struck a single person, and the only punishment we employed was to send away those whose work or whose conduct did not satisfy us. But we so managed that dismissal was really a punishment and not a sort of deliverance.

All the secret is there: be kindly with the natives: be kindly without tiring of it, and be sure that they will pay you back. How often indeed, coming back from the fields in the evening whilst the long file of workmen stretched out before us, has the thought been borne in on us at the sight of these perfectly happy people, that perhaps out of our whole civilization all the good it was in our power to give them was nothing more than a little charity.

EMILE BAILLAUD.

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ON WEST AFRICAN RAILWAYS

By Fred Shelford, B.Sc. (Lond.), M.Inst.C.E., F.R.G.S.

Delivered at the Ordinary General Meeting of the African Society, on April 8th, 1902.

I am one of those people who think that the world would go along more smoothly if we all worked harder and talked less, and I am certain that in the case of a Civil Engineer the wisest man is he who keeps his ears open and his mouth closed; takes in all that he sees and a certain amount of what he hears and expresses his opinion only when called upon.

I am acting against these principles this evening in giving you a Lecture upon West African Railways, but I have my reasons for doing so,—Firstly, I have been honoured with an invitation from the African Society to say a few words about West African Railways, and to show some views of the works with the aid of a magic lantern, and I am most anxious to assist in any way I can, however humble that way may be, a Society which has before it I am convinced a future as great as its scope and which is already showing evidence of being a great success.

Secondly with regard to these West African Railways and our work upon them we have no secrets, we have nothing to conceal, and there is nothing of which we are ashamed. So far is it from a fact that we wish to conceal anything with regard to these works that the exact opposite is the case. And I wish that people about to write articles in the Press or to make speeches at meetings of shareholders of Gold Mining and other companies criticising West African Railways and everything and everybody connected with them would be good enough to call at our office beforehand and learn the true facts of the case. They would be received I hope with courtesy and all information they required

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would be given to them and they would be saved from writing inaccurate articles and making perfectly absurd speeches, but then of course I fear that some column of a newspaper badly in want of copy might remain empty and some obscure person might have to remain without an advertisement of which he was perhaps in need.

You will be glad to hear that that is the only piece of temper I am going to show all the evening. There are many controversial matters connected with West Africa as well as with the Railways in West Africa and almost any of these might be taken and I hope will be taken as a subject for a discussion to be held under the auspices of the African Society on some other occasion, when perhaps I may have a chance of meeting our critics in fair and open fight.

It may seem to you curious that a lecture upon West African Railways should be of more interest than a Lecture upon any other Railways. You may say that you are all familiar with Railways and that there is little more to be said about them. Well the only reason that Railways in West Africa are of unusual interest is that in the case of each of the three important lines we have had to approach a new unhealthy often swampy country covered with forest and have had to start from the commencement of all things without the assistance of any skilled workmen of any kind and having to carry with us every appliance from an engine to an envelope, from a station to stationery.

More particularly is this the case on the Gold Coast where we had to land upon an inhospitable shore at a place where the landing was extremely difficult and where there was no accommodation or convenience of any kind.

This is of course work to which the civil engineer is accustomed, his profession being that of converting the great resources of nature to the use and convenience of man, but the conditions are very unfavourable when expedition is required.

On the arrival of our Engineers upon the Gold Coast the natives were, of course, most interested in the white men and most pleased to hear they were going to make a railway which would make them all rich men and they said they would be glad to sit down and see the railway made, but on being informed that they themselves had got to do all the hard work upon the

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Railway they changed their opinions and did not think that Railways were such nice things after all.

I will now show you some views of the three railways which have been made, or are being made in the three Colonies of Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast, and if I should succeed in interesting you in these important undertakings for a short time I shall have had my reward.

I will if you will allow me show you the views of one railway, and then refer to some important question such as cost before proceeding to the next and in this way combine amusement with instruction.

In order to reach West Africa you leave Liverpool on an Elder Dempster Steamer, about which a good deal might be said, but I will merely mention that Messrs. Elder Dempster are in possession of a fine fleet of steamers, and the steamers leave Liverpool something like eight times a month.

The first West African Colony we pass is the Gambia, which, although interesting in its way is not of interest to us to-night, because it is small and situated on the banks of the Gambia River, and has at present no need for railways.

SIERRA LEONE RAILWAY.

About a fortnight after leaving Liverpool we reach the Colony of Sierra Leone and the Sierra Leone Railway is about the first object to be seen on landing.

As you have now seen some views of the Sierra Leone Railway, I may mention as promised a most important point about the West African Railways—*i.e.* their cost. You may have seen in articles in the papers that the Railways in West Africa which the Colonial Governments have constructed under our supervision have been very expensive as well as slow. I will come to the question of speed later on. It is I believe according to these authorities a recognised and accepted fact that the Gold Coast Government Railway has cost or is costing about £20,000 a mile. This railway is still in progress and its exact cost is not yet known, but I can give you some facts about the Sierra Leone Railway. An estimate was once made by a very eminent Engineer some years ago for the Sierra Leone

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Railway and he placed it at £10,000 per mile. A very well-known and first class contractor (we will name no names) expressed a desire to make it at £8,000 a mile. It may interest you to know that the first section of the Sierra Leone Railway from Freetown up to Songo Town, a distance of only 32 miles, including the high steel viaducts you have seen and of which there are 11 in the first 18 miles, workshops, rolling stock, quarters for the engineers and working staff and including the training of the native staff as guards, porters, etc., and the hundred and one accessories of a complete railway was constructed for just £6,000 a mile. The second section of the line only 23 miles in length, cost £4,200 per mile, while the extension of the railway now on hand to Mattru, which is now almost completed, a distance of 80 miles, is likely to cost only £3,500 per mile, including all rolling stock and accessories.

This must be compared with anything at all comparable, and the Congo Railway which was built by the Belgians in the Congo Free State further South and which is of the same gauge (2 ft. 6 ins.) as the Sierra Leone Railway naturally occurs to one.

The cost of the Congo Railway including everything was exactly £10,400 per mile.

I may as well give the cost of the Lagos Railway (3 ft. 6 ins.) now I am on the subject. This line was opened as far as the Ibadan in March of last year, a distance of 125 miles, at a cost of about £7,000 per mile including all rolling stock, quarters, etc., as before.

The cost of the Gold Coast Railway, which is generally accepted as being £20,000 per mile, I am unable to give you, because it is incomplete, but I think when finished including the steel pier and other harbour works at Sekondi, the enormous station at Sekondi not forgetting the Hospital and the quarters for the staff it will not amount to more than £8,000 per mile. This, however, is not the cost of the railway only, and I find the cost of the Tarkwa-Kumasi Extension without the terminal and harbour works is expected to amount to £6,300 per mile, which includes the cost of importing some 12,000 labourers and the cost of feeding them from England.

It is of interest to mention that the Uganda Railway which is

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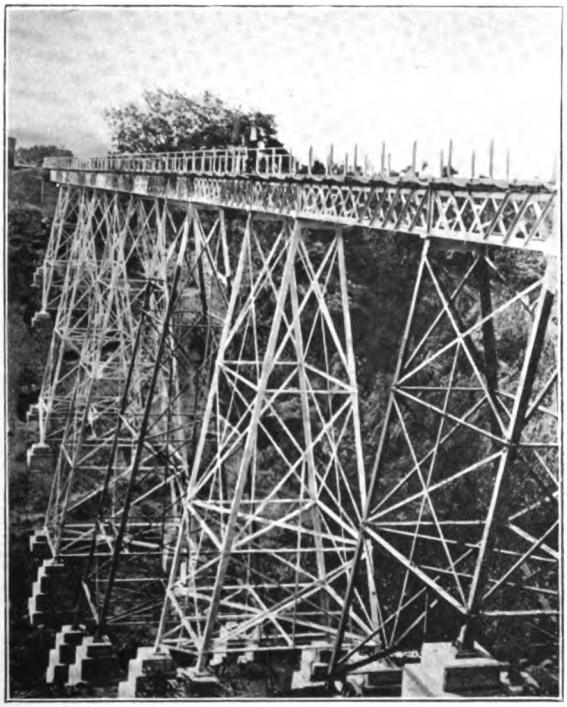

SIERRA LEONE RAILWAY.

The "Maroon" Viaduct on the Sierra Leone Railway (2 ft. 6 ins. gauge), 80 feet high and 350 feet long, constructed on steel trestles with concrete foundations.

There are eleven such viaducts in the first twenty miles of line.

GOLD COAST RAILWAYS.

An Embankment in course of construction. The whole of the earthwork is carried on the heads of the natives, and it is an economy in transport to excavate earth from "borrow pits" alongside of the bank to be made.

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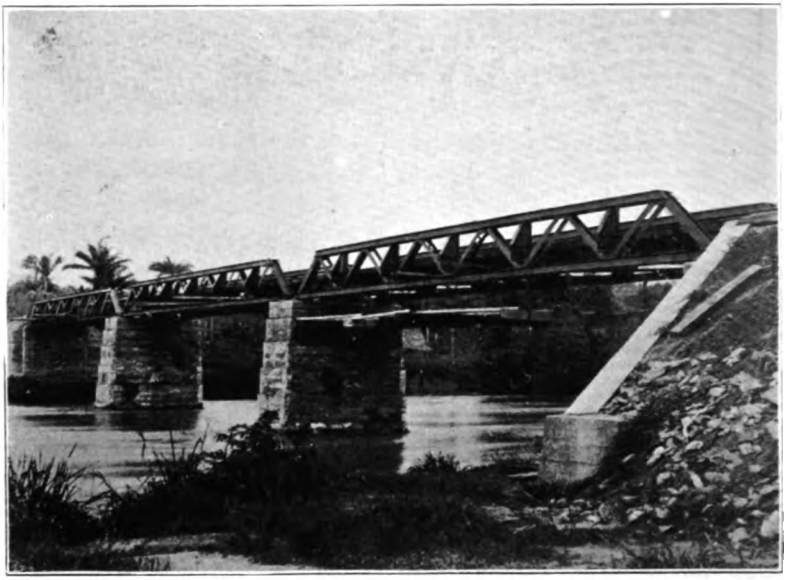

LAGOS RAILWAY.

A Bridge on the Lagos Railway, over the River Oyan. The piers have to be made exceptionally strong to withstand the swift current and floods during the wet season.

LAGOS RAILWAY.

A Long Straight on the Lagos Railway, showing some steel sleepers lying alongside. It is curious to note that it is more economical to use a steel sleeper made in England than to cut down and prepare sleepers from the timber growing in the forest.

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metre guage much the same as Gold Coast and Lagos (3 ft 6 ins.), but which passes through an open and healthy country with a good port as compared with our dense forest, extremely bad climate and very bad ports, cost £8,505 per mile according to the last parliamentary estimate, and I understand that more money yet will be required.

The Cape Government Railways cost about £10,000 a mile, and it is not without interest to note that the average estimate (so often exceeded) for light railways in England with all the advantages of labour and materials in a recent year came to £5,780 per mile.

I cannot conceive a more convincing answer to accusations of excessive cost of the West African Railways.

LAGOS RAILWAY.

We will now steam past the Gold Coast and proceed to Lagos, situated 1,400 miles from Sierra Leone.

Of the works in this Colony I can show you, I think, some interesting views.

The map on the wall shows the railway itself to a small scale, and shows that it has at present only been carried about one-third of the way to the Niger River. I should explain, in order that you may understand the views that you are about to see, that the town of Lagos is situated upon an Island inside the Lagos Lagoon. The town of Lagos used to be the headquarters of the West African slave trade and it owes its origin to this. The population of Lagos is something like 60,000 people, but as it is separated from the Mainland, the first work which the Government wished to have done was to connect the Island with the mainland by means of a bridge. These bridges are three in number, the first goes from the Lagos island to a small island called Iddo Island, on which is the terminal station of the Lagos Railway. This bridge is called the Carter Bridge and is a road bridge, and from Iddo Island to the Mainland is another road bridge called the Denton Bridge, alongside of which is the railway bridge. You will see therefore that to reach a point in the Hinterland of Lagos is a somewhat complicated matter, but for cargo it is worse. The ocean-going steamers have to go

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past the mouth of the Lagos Lagoon and call at Forcados and there cargo has to be transhipped from the ocean steamer into a small branch boat, drawing nine feet of water, which then has to go back and cross the bar of the Lagos River and proceed to Iddo Island to be unloaded.

The railway connects Lagos itself which has a population of 60,000 people, with the interior and has many small villages along its entire route, but the other principal places served are Otta at 20 miles (population 2,000), Ifo, Arigbajo, Papa Alanto, Abeokuta (population 150,000) and Ibadan (population 180,000).

Having now shewn you some views on a railway 125 miles long in the Lagos Colony, I will put on the screen a slide showing this railway with regard to Lagos, Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria which together form a solid block of British Territory. You will see that the railway forms a quite insignificant mark upon the map of these Colonies.

I will not enlarge upon the possibilities of the territory, that you see before you, and will merely mention that this vast extent of country is about 360,000 miles in area, about one-third of the size of India, has a fertile soil in almost all parts and probably has great mineral resources and above all is fortunate in possessing in the the Hausas in Northern Nigeria a people who have already shown themselves to be industrious and amenable to European civilization. Kano is a commercial centre of great importance, whence caravans proceed to Algeria and Tripoli in Northern Africa occupying as long as a year or so in the journey. In Southern Nigeria where the Aro Expedition is now operating we have a vast country with a very fertile soil and abounding in palm oil, rubber, and other tropical products, with a large but still wild population, soon however to learn I hope to form a useful addition to the population of the British Empire.

Ladies and Gentlemen with these utterly inadequate remarks I pass away from this vast portion of our Empire beyond the seas and I would ask you how long you consider that such a country will remain almost unknown and almost the Darkest Part of Darkest Africa.

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GOLD COAST RAILWAY.

I will now refer to the Gold Coast Railway which has, during the last eighteen months, caused considerable interest on accouut of the industry in gold mining which has recently sprung up in the Gold Coast Colony. It is also the cause of the issue of a Loan by the Gold Coast Government in which I hope you have all taken shares. The Loan was for £1,035,000 issued at 91, bearing interest of 3 per cent, This appears to be a good investment and is really better than it looks for reasons I cannot mention here. Unfortunately the photographs I have of the Gold Coast Railway are somewhat few and poor. The water at our headquarters at Sekondi is scarce and bad in quality and it is difficult to get good photographs of the works, and moreover the whole country through which the Railway runs is covered by a large forest and in the whole length of the line there is not a single view to be had of any extent. I will, however, show you what I have. The Cartoon on the wall shows the railway now in course of construction.

I must particularly ask you to note that although this railway forms one continuous line yet this work is in reality two separate undertakings, viz., The Sekondi-Tarkwa Railway which was originally to be constructed and was only authorised to be greatly extended upon being guaranteed by the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation.

The other surveys and proposed railways are shown upon the Cartoon (explained).

To return to the Sekondi-Kumasi Railway, I should like to impress upon you that the work carried out on the Gold Coast is on a large scale and that it has been much hampered by difficulties of every kind. Unlike the Colonies of Sierra Leone and Lagos, the Gold Coast has no port or harbour worthy of the name. The harbour at Sekondi is the best we could find but it is, in the proper sense of the word, not a harbour at all. It merely consists of a portion of the shore which receives a certain amount of shelter from a projection of rocks. It has a sandy beach and the steamers cannot approach nearer than about one mile from the shore and cargo has to be transhipped into surf

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boats and lighters which cannot enter the bay except at half tide or over.

On landing at Sekondi you get a fair idea of the enormous number of accessories which go to make up the terminus of a railway in an undeveloped country. The area of Sekondi Station is about the same as Euston Station of the London & North Western Railway and here will be seen the bungalows of the Staff, a hospital on the top of the Hill, which is at the disposal not only of the staff of the railway but of all the labourers that work upon it, and of all the gold mining Companies' employées who care to make use of it. There is also at Sekondi a Recreation Club, which organises sports and cricket matches at intervals and has a billiard room in a special building, all of which we provide in order to add to the comfort of the engineers employed on the work. I may add that it is being seriously considered whether we should not put up a church at this place.

I will now be bold and refer to another point which seems to be of great interest to those connected with West Africa, viz., the speed of construction of the West African Railways—a question which I know has received a considerable amount of attention. I hope the slide now on the screen may serve to illustrate my remarks. (Explain curves.)

In the case of the Sierra Leone Railway you will see that after some time had been spent in the construction of headquarters, erection of workshops and other preparations, the construction went steadily forward, and the rate of construction steadily increased until the last section of the railway has been constructed at the rate of about 6 miles a month. As the construction of all these railways has to be carried out from the one end only, I do not think that this rate will ever be much exceeded in West Africa, except in a healthy and open part of the country. The Sierra Leone Railway received a great number of interruptions during its construction, such as the Hut Tax Revolt in 1898, which caused all the Engineers to retire into Freetown, the labourers to be scattered, and the railway to be left at the mercy of the enemy.

A military expedition was sent up at the end of 1898 which again caused interruption to the construction of the works as our

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labourers were taken away in order to serve as carriers for the troops. You will however see by looking at the diagram that when we are left alone the construction of the railway attains a speed of some 6 miles a month. The Lagos line also shown on the diagram also suffered from severe interruptions. The disturbance with the French in the Hinterland caused the labourers to be taken away to serve as carriers to the troops and stopped the progress of the works for some time at the end of 1897. You will, however, again see that when the disturbances ceased the rate of progress reached 5 miles a month as shewn on the diagrams.

Amongst the many causes which tend to prevent the rapid execution of works in West Africa, I should like to mention first an event like the engineering strike in this country in 1898 which caused engines, carriages and wagons on order for some of the West African railways to be kept back for a space in some cases of one whole year.

Another example which has occurred quite recently is the wreck of ships conveying materials for the construction of railways, which have been carefully timed to arrive when required. You may have heard of the total loss of the ship called the "Lagos" which occurred about Christmas time and which was filled with rails, sleepers, and other materials for the railway.

Another incident which occurred within the last few weeks was the grounding of the "Cabenda" in the Gambia. She also was filled with materials for the railway, and in order to get her off a certain amount of material had to be thrown overboard and the assistance of several other ships also filled with materials had to be called in to help the "Cabenda" off the mud, thus delaying several ships at one time.

As it is necessary to carefully arrange the weekly shipments of materials in small quantities in order to prevent any overcrowding at the termini of the railways, but at the same time to avoid hampering the speed of the works, it may be guessed how vexatious these interruptions are.

With regard to this question of speed I beg particularly to call your attention to the fact that a delay of the kind mentioned does not bear simple interest but compound interest with a vengeance.

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In the case of the Gold Coast Railway I will point out to you the almost innumerable causes of delay which have occurred. (Explained.)

When the work was commenced upon the Tarkwa Railway in 1898 the people of the country, the Fantis, refused to come forward at all except in very small numbers. The Railway only being a small line, some 40 miles in length, it was not worth while to organise the importation of labourers on a large scale, and the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Frederick Hodgson, was particularly anxious that the Railway should be constructed by the natives of the Gold Coast and discountenanced the importation of labour from other parts. The consequence was that the labour on the Gold Coast line fell at one time to as low as 600 men, a number absurdly inadequate to carry on the works at all.

It was not until the Tarkwa-Kumasi extension was authorised in 1900, that it became obvious to the Governor that men must be imported to the Gold Coast if the project was to be carried through. The matter was therefore gone into and schemes for importing labourers from almost every part of the world were carefully considered. It was however decided that work in West Africa ought to be carried out by the West Africans themselves, as West Africa was perfectly capable of supplying any amount of labour. The colony of the Gambia was asked if they had any labourers to spare and promptly replied that they had not, but some 1,500 men were got from Sierra Leone, but the Governor of Sierra Leone thought this was against the interests of the Colony, and put a stop to any further exportation, although the men were, as a matter of fact, anxious to come, as they had become used to the work in their own country. The Government of Sierra Leone has of course to consider the interests of their own Colony. In the colony of Lagos the people were not anxious to come at first and it was only after eighteen months' effort that any of these labourers were induced to come to the Gold Coast in considerable numbers. Eventually however a large number were obtained on yearly agreements, but I regret to say that this source of labour has now been closed to us on account of the action of the Government of that Colony passing an Ordinance which places a tax upon every

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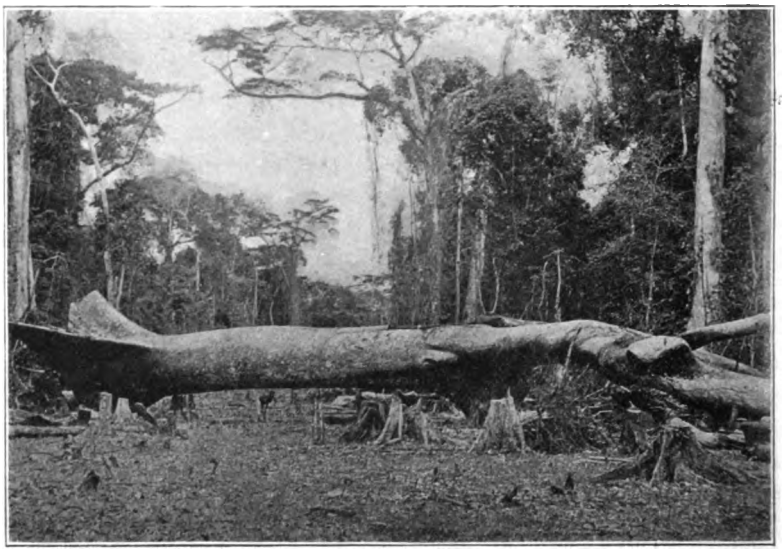
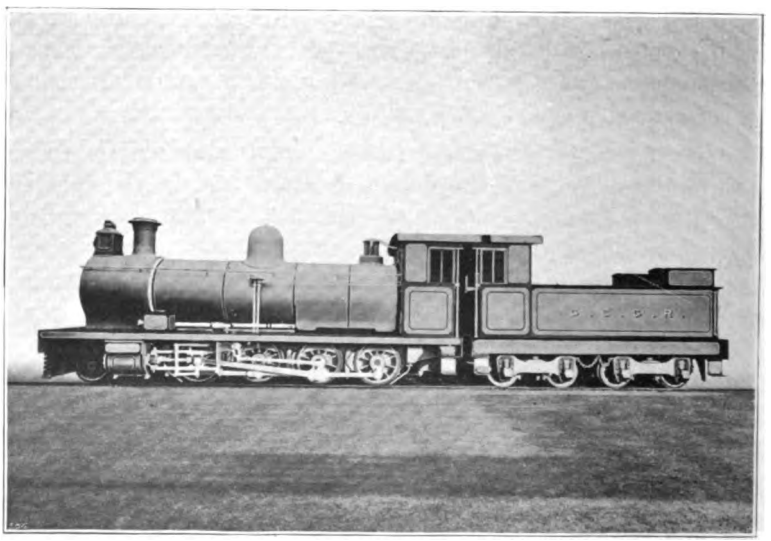


GOLD COAST RAILWAYS.

The heavy work of clearing is an obstacle to progress on the Kumasi Railway. This is one of many trees which have to be cut down before the work of construction can commence. A native can be seen beneath the tree.



GOLD COAST RAILWAYS.

One of the new powerful 8-wheel coupled Locomotives on the Kumasi Railway. To protect the European drivers from the sun and rain the cab is made roomy, and is fitted with a double roof. The engine also has a cow-catcher, and large head-light in the American style.

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man exported. The Gold Coast, therefore, seems to be left to its own resources in the future in the matter of labour. I am, however, glad to say that during the last six months the natives of the Coast, the Fantis, have, after some years' careful consideration, come to the conclusion that they might do a little work on the railway, and the total number of men now engaged on the railway is no less than 12,000 men. It is interesting to note that these natives, who are of the most uncivilized kind, have to be used as station masters, guards, porters, etc, white men being too expensive to be employed on any such work.

The question of labour in West Africa is of some interest, but I cannot go into that now but will merely say that in the case of Sierra Leone the Mendis took to the work well and we had few complaints to make against them. We have had about 5,000 of them employed.

At Lagos the labour has been abundant and there were at one time over 10,000 men employed on the Lagos Railway alone Most of them are Egbas and Yorubas, a strong and active race, but, like natives of other tropical parts, not over anxious perhaps to exert themselves.

(Explain curves of Gold Coast.)

The diagram on the screen shows the progress of the Gold Coast Railway, and the various stoppages due to want of labour, the Ashanti Rising, and the very wet seasons, and other causes, but it will be seen that after the extension beyond Tarkwa was authorised and more labour was obtained, and after the Ashanti War was over, and after the terribly wet season of 1901 was over, in fact when at last the conditions became more reasonable, the progress became very good, and in the last 12 months the heavy clearing of the dense forest has advanced no less than 80 miles, and the rails 45 miles.

The difficulties upon the Gold Coast have been extraordinary. The survey of the line had to be carried through a quite unknown and impenetrable forest, every yard having to be cut through tree bush, and this means not only every yard of the railway itself, but every yard of the hundreds of miles of trial lines and cross sections which are necessary to determine the best route for the line. The survey of the extension was begun in 1900, immediately the line was authorised, but it was broken

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up by the Ashanti rising which drove in the advance surveyors. The next dry season no less than 27 white engineers and 2,000 natives were put on to this survey and this great party accomplished what was required in the location of the line as far as Obbuassi, but at the cost of the invaliding of one leader, and the death of his successor. This present dry season the work has been pushed on by 20 engineers and about 1,800 natives, and there is now no chance of the operations being hampered by want of survey.

The quantity of earthwork still to be done is very great, there being many banks and cuttings of great size.

The clearing, of which I have shown you some pictures, has been very heavy the whole way, but has proceeded during the last 12 months at the rate of nearly 7 miles a month.

It is interesting to note that the distance from Sekondi to Kumasi is 170 miles, or equal to that from Euston to Hertford (12 miles beyond Crewe) on the London and North Western Railway, and equal to that from Waterloo to Exeter on the London and South Western Railway, and has to be made under circumstances vastly more difficult with regard to labour, food supply, climate, dense forest, etc., than the same distance in this country.

It is a most unfortunate thing that the rainfall on the Gold Coast line is about the heaviest in West Africa. The rainfall in Lagos is much less. The rainfall at Sierra Leone is perhaps equal in amount but the soil is hard and the rain runs off, but probably the least rainfall in West Africa occurs at the eastern end of the Gold Coast, the rainfall at Accra occasionally being as low as 18 inches of rain in a year, but unfortunately for us it is quite different in the West end of the colony where we are at work, the rainfall there being much higher and, as luck would have it, the wet season of 1901, at a time when we were so anxious to push ahead the Gold Coast line, was the heaviest that had been known for a long time, the actual figures being 31 inches as an average of the three years 1898, 1899, and 1900, while in 1901 it was 78·9 inches. This fell in six months, but the rainfall for May, June, and July alone was no less than 60 inches, and this caused serious floods in an already swampy country.

In conclusion, I will say that I have now had the honour to

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show you a considerable number of views of the West African Railways. I have said a good deal in explanation of them, yet I feel that I have not mentioned more than a fraction of the points of interest in connection with these works. Much less have I ventured to refer to other matters of interest in connection with West Africa, such as the Gold mining industry and the working of the Concession Ordinance, the customs of the natives, and many other subjects. You will, I hope, have seen that the fascination of such works consists in the large scale on which they are carried on, that it is as important, for example, to arrange for a good working scheme for the supply and sale of food stuffs for the engineers as for the proper design of locomotives and bridges.

I will merely conclude by saying that the best efforts of my firm always have been, and always will be, I hope, given to the good cause of converting our Crown Colonies of West Africa from little known heathen and undeveloped portions of the great continent of Africa to valuable markets for our manufactures, and rich sources of raw products for our own industries.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Ordinary General Meeting of the African Society, April 8th, 1902.

The Right Hon. VISCOUNT DUNCANNON, C.B., in the Chair.

LORD DUNCANNON :—I have much pleasure in responding to the invitation extended to me to take the Chair this evening.

Before I introduce the Lecturer perhaps I may be permitted to say that I have received letters of regret from Lord Ripon, our President, and from Sir Alfred Jones who takes a very great interest in all that is going on in West Africa.

Lord Ripon writes saying that he is sorry that he cannot be present. But a long standing engagement made it impossible.

Sir Alfred Jones wrote this morning to say that he was more than sorry that he was not able to be present at what he considered to be a most interesting meeting, and that he would therefore not be able to hear Mr. Shelford's lecture on West African Railways. He had sympathised a good deal with the

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difficulties that had had to be encountered in making these railways from the Coast: and nothing would have given him greater pleasure than to be present to-night.

Mr. Fred Shelford, Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers belongs to the Firm of Messrs Shelford & Sons Consulting Engineers to the Colonial Office for West Africa. Mr. Shelford has had considerable personal acquaintance with the three West African Colonies in which railways are being made. After visiting British Honduras in 1896 on behalf of the Colonial Office he was appointed in 1897 as leader of a large pioneer party at Lagos; and in 1898 he was the first person to march in a direct line from Tarkwa to Kumasi through unknown forest country now forming the route of the railways.

Mr. F. Shelford then proceeded to deliver his Lecture, and at its conclusion

LORD DUNCANNON said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that I am only expressing your feelings in rising to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Shelford for his exceedingly able and interesting lecture which he has just delivered.

In proposing this vote you will understand that I do so in my capacity as a member of the African Society, a Society in which I am deeply interested. And perhaps in passing I may be allowed to say that I have a right to belong to such a Society because I first went to the West Coast thirty-seven years ago in one of H. M. Ships and was engaged watching the Slavers at the mouth of the Congo River and other places.

There is no doubt that Mr. Shelford has shown great pluck in coming forward and giving this lecture and explaining, in face of the considerable criticism that has arisen lately, all about these railways, and especially about the Gold Coast Railway which has evoked most criticism.

From what he has said you are able to realise in great measure the difficult nature of the work he has had to carry out. The difficulties in regard to climate, heavy rains, dense forests, and labour are very great in ordinary circumstances; but very much greater in carrying out pioneer works such as these were.

I am informed it is probable that in West Africa branches will be made in various directions from the trunk lines. This work

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will be carried out under much more favourable circumstances; as experience will have been gained and should be for the general advantage.

At any rate, it is now possible in each of these three Colonies for mining experts and others who arrive on the Coast to get away from the sea-board into the Hinterland at once and so pass quickly through what you all know to be the most unhealthy part of that country.

In referring to the Gold Coast Railway Mr. Shelford made a remark personal to myself as to being a Director on the Board of one of the Companies in Ashanti. It is, I am bound to admit, a great temptation to me to launch out and say something about the work that has been going on there. But, as I began by saying, I am here as a member of the African Society—I am interested in West Africa generally, and not only with one particular branch.

But it does occur to me, as I have the honour of seeing so many ladies in the room, that I might mention an interesting fact which has only recently come to my knowledge; and that is that a white lady has gone up to the property in which I am interested with the full consent of the Government. Now, I view this with much pleasure, as it goes to prove that the conditions for security of life there have much improved.

Just one word more. You have seen from the slides that have been shown something of what is being done in West Africa; and I should like to take the opportunity before this assembly of the African Society separates of thanking the present Secretary of State for the Colonies for instructing the engineers to push this work forward with all possible speed; but we know full well that Mr. Chamberlain himself takes a deep interest in the development of the Gold Coast, and sets a brilliant example of energy and determination to all those interested in successful colonization.

I am obliged to you for the attention you have shown in listening to my remarks; and I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Shelford for his lecture. (Cheers.)

Mr. C. H. NEWMAN said:—My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, during the last three months I have been in West Africa, and whilst

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there I have travelled from Sekondi to Tarkwa on two or three occasions; and made a thorough inspection of the Gold Coast railway; and the conclusion I have come to is that Messrs. Shelford and Sons have performed a great work under immeasurable difficulties. I think the highest praise is due to them for the way in which they have carried out a work which I venture to say as a Surveyor and one having some knowledge of engineering would not have been carried out had they not put great energy into the work. I have great pleasure in saying that so far as my knowledge goes the railway can serve all purposes for which it was intended when the construction was undertaken. It can serve every purpose connected with the big Tarkwa firms. It can carry the necessary machinery up to those mines. I have been 10 or 12 miles, thanks to Mr. Shelford's subordinates, beyond Tarkwa; and I was enabled by their courtesy to go considerably beyond the point to which the railway was opened. There I found that the railway was being pushed on rapidly and in a business-like manner; that the provision was all that one could desire, and that before very long we should no doubt see, although I was not able to go there, the railway up to the Ashanti Gold Fields. And when I go out again I hope to travel to Ashanti and to see a large gold production.

I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Shelford, which has been moved by Lord Duncannon; and I desire further as a Chairman of Companies to express my appreciation of the way in which this railway work has been carried on.

Lord Duncannon then put the vote to the meeting; and it was carried with acclamation.

Mr. SHELFORD:—You have heard so much from me to-night that I must not detain you longer than to say I am extremely obliged to you for the kind way in which you have listened to this lecture; and I am extremely obliged to you for the vote of thanks.

Colonel Stopford then moved a vote of thank to Lord Duncannon for presiding, which was warmly accorded.

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THE CONGO STATE AND THE DOMAINE PRIVÉ

In view of the controversy concerning the trade exploitation of the Congo Free State which has in recent times assumed such widespread proportions and which has attracted the attention of statesmen, diplomatists and Chambers of Commerce throughout the civilised world—we publish a map of the territory of the Congo Free State embracing an area in rough numbers of one million square miles. In this map the Domaine Privé occupies the shaded portion. As will be seen it covers nearly the entire territory of the Congo State, the Lower Congo (from the mouth of the River to Leopoldsville) and an insignificant portion of the Upper Congo being alone open to free competitive trade. The Domaine Privé is now divided into four parts.

Part I. is the Domaine Privé *stricto sensu* where the State has the sole monopoly of the exploitation of the products of the soil. It comprises the Basins of the M'Bomu, Welle, Mongalla, Itimbri, Aruwimi, Loposi and Maringa, Lakes Leopold II. and Tumba and the Lukenie.

Part II. is nominally open to free trade. It consists of the Lower Congo and the portions left unshaded on the map.[1]

Part III. includes the Basins of the Congo, Lualaba, Upper Lomami, Urua and Katanga. The whole of this region has remained closed to free trade since 1892. Last year, however, arrangements were made between the State and the Thys Trust to work a portion of it on a basis of two-thirds profits to the State and one-third to the Thys Trust.

Part IV. The Kasai Basin and its affluents.

[1] It formerly included the Kassai Basin (see Part IV.).

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This vast monopoly is partly worked by the State itself, partly by financiers in the confidence of the State who have formed "Companies" in which the State retains a half interest —and by the "Thys" group of Companies which succeeded in wresting a large territory from the State as the result of a long and bitter controversy.

Until last year the Kassai region was free and several firms competed therein. Now they have amalgamated and formed a Trust in which the Congo State owns a half interest, and the Kassai region may consequently be considered as forming part o the Domaine Privé.

One of the main principles of the Berlin Act was the exclusion of monopoly and privilege from the Congo Basin, and one of the solemn promises made by the Sovereign of the Congo State at the time of the Conference was—as Sir Charles Dilke has tersely put it—"that never would the Congo State *directly or indirectly* itself trade within its own dominions." That principle and that promise have clearly been violated by the Congo State—monopoly and privilege *have* been set up in the Congo Basin. The Congo State trades "directly," and "indirectly" it is the largest trader within its dominions. Moreover the Congo State has interpreted Article V. of the Berlin Act which declares that "No power which exercises or shall exercise sovereign rights in the above-named regions shall be allowed to grant therein a monopoly or favour of any kind in matters of trade" by officially declaring a monopoly of the products of the soil (that is to say over the articles which in West and South-West Africa constitute trade)—either for itself exclusively or for certain Corporations in which it not only retains a preponderating financial interest but whose management it controls (appointing and dismissing Directors, &c.) and whose operations it assists by its Force Publique.

It is also urged that the State has substituted for the abuses practised by the Slaveholders abuses at least as flagrant in the form of forced labour coupled with the compulsory collection of forest produce, principally rubber, for the use of the State, and an extensive system of enforced military service, and it is asserted that the system thus introduced is contrary not only to the spirit but the letter of the Berlin Act, and that the safe-

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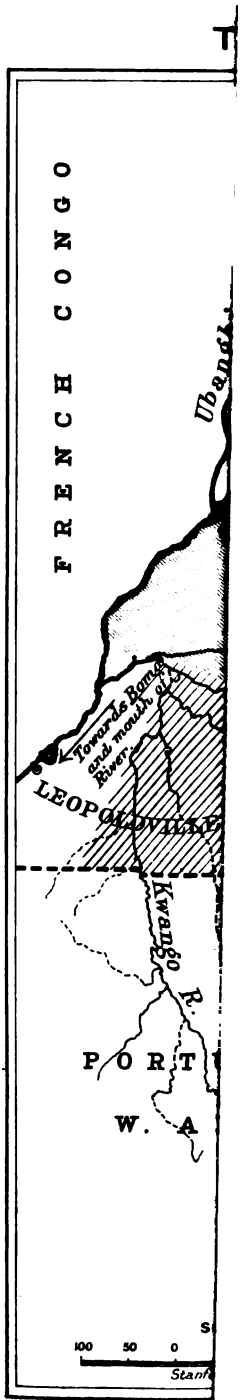

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guards embodied therein for the effective protection of native populations have been abrogated.

Having regard to the gravity and extent of the interests involved it is contended that the circumstances of the case demand careful and authoritative investigation with a view to initiate a new conference of the Signatory Powers to the Berlin Act to reaffirm the principles of the Berlin Act and to insist upon those principles being carried out.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AFRICA FROM THE EAST

THE opening up of the vast inland continent of Africa by modern enterprise is still dependent upon the natural inlets which have been exploited from time immemorial, although in some few instances railways have opened up new facilities, and in some cases created new routes. As a rule, however, the main channels of traffic have been well defined from the earliest times down to the present day. They were originally marked out by the old trade caravans, starting from some point of the coast easily accessible, and following a route, such as a more or less navigable river, or at any rate a watered and inhabited region, where the caravans and subsequently the slave trading expeditions could obtain food, trade, or the victims of their nefarious traffic. Gradually these lines of communication attracted the commerce of the locality, or offered a comparative degree of security and comfort to the traveller and the trader, until custom and convenience marked them out as high roads from the interior to the coast.

Just as a channel is opened and widened by the passage of a torrent of water, so the path, which was a mere foot-way through the forest, widens into a main road when it is trodden by continuous traffic. It has been marked out originally by daily stages, the lengths of which are dependent on the existence of the greatest of all necessities—water, and this, having been once located and proved, there is, as a rule, no necessity for the unenterprising native to diverge from the beaten track, or open up another route.

The most cursory glance at the map of Africa will show two main routes penetrating to the heart of the continent; one on the east coast and the other on the west: the Zambesi and the

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Congo. Both these great waterways have, from the very earliest times, been known and utilised as trade routes, and in more modern times have been the means of exploring and developing vast territories, and bringing them under the dominion of the white man.

I cite these two only, but there are many more, and certainly not the least important, at any rate to Englishmen, is the mighty Niger. But the Zambesi, on the east Coast, plays the predominant part, not only in the country which it traverses, but by giving access, through the Shiré, to the great line of the lakes or inland seas which drain the central plateaux of the continent.

Unfortunately, the navigation of this great waterway is by no means uninterrupted by natural obstacles, which could only be overcome by an expenditure too heavy to be contemplated, and its facilities for transport must therefore be supplemented by the construction of railways over those portions of the route which are not suitable for rapid and economical water transit,

Let us examine the facilities now in existence.

The Zambesi itself is very varying in character. During the rainy season, and for some time after, its rolling waters fill the main channel to a width of three to four miles in many of its lower reaches. It is a mighty river, draining an immense area, and when it is in flood no more imposing mass of water could be seen anywhere, but in the autumn months of the year it presents a very different appearance. The stream, not more than 150 feet in width, winds in and out of interminable sandbanks in the bed of the river, and the many stern-wheel steamers which ply up and down, drawing barely 18 inches of water, have to bump and drag themselves over the shallows and round the sharp curves of the sandspits with infinite care and not a little risk. But the worst feature of the river is the ever-shifting of its channels to the sea, through the wide delta formed by the alluvials carried down from the interior in its muddy waters. Chinde is at present the only navigable entrance to the Zambesi, and its conditions are by no means stable. The town is built upon a sandbank, which is continually being encroached upon and swallowed up by the river ; so much so that the British Concession has been reduced by nearly half its area in the course of three or four years. The bar at the entrance to the harbour is constantly varying, and will

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only allow the entrance of shallow draft coasting vessels, so that the trans-shipment of goods from oversea steamers has to be effected in the open roadstead, under conditions of great exposure and risk. The tugs or coasting-steamers and lighters, into which the steamers' cargo is trans-shipped outside the bar, are not fitted for the upper waters of the Zambesi, and so the cargo is again unloaded. Any one conversant with the handling of freight on a surf coast and an open beach will appreciate the expense and deterioration which all this means to goods in transit.

The evil reputation of the climate on the coast of East Africa is mainly due to the fact that nearly all the trading settlements have perforce been located on the mouth of a river, since in the absence of roads, creeks and rivers form the only means of transport into the interior. The deltas formed at the mouths of such rivers by the alluvial deposits brought down in flood times are a fertile source of malaria, which might be easily avoided were the towns built on the more elevated and rocky portions of the coast, away from the depressions through which the inland waters find their way to the sea, where the tropical vegetation is rankest, and the decomposition of vegetable detritus always going on. Custom and local necessities have influenced the selection of sites for settlements on the existing harbours, and unfortunately the conditions of hygiene have generally been completely neglected in presence of the requirements of easy and natural transport.

If I have shown that the entrance to the Zambesi has many drawbacks, I do not mean to detract from the enormous facilities for traffic that this great waterway affords us. Without it the South Central portion of Africa could not be exploited for many years to come. Not the least of its many benefits has been the opening up, through its waters and those of the Shiré River, of the southern entrance to the great line of the Lakes which drain the central plateau of the Continent.

Nyasa and Tanganyika are two inland seas extending NNW and SSE through the heart of Africa, and draining many thousands of square miles. Since the break up of the slave traders' combination, the native population on the shores of these lakes is increasing by leaps and bounds. The extraordinary fertility of the soil on these elevated plateaux—Nyasa is 1500 feet above

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the sea level—and the abundance of water, will support a population of great density. The reproductive power of the natives under a peaceful régime is so great, that in another twenty years the labour question, a very difficult one for the moment, will in a great measure have solved itself.

The restless activity of the white man has invaded the very heart of Africa. The great district of the Congo is being overrun with rival traders. Commercial centres are created up to the eastern confines of the territory on the western shore of Tanganyika, and the trade from this side of the Free State must find an outlet to the sea on the East, and therefore come down the line of the lakes, since water carriage is the only cheap transport yet in existence. Only goods of the highest value can be carried any distance by caravans of native carriers. This fact was so well understood by the earlier traders that slave raiding and slave trading were the natural corollary of any attempt to bring down goods from the interior. The only beast of burden available was the negro. If his work were voluntary it had to be paid for, and thus became unremunerative. If, on the other hand, it were forced, and the victim himself, at the end of the journey a realisable asset, then the cost of transport was reduced to a minimum, and the problem of the carriage, within certain limits, became practicable. I say within certain limits, because the relative bulk, weight and value of the goods which would bear carriage, even under the most economical conditions, had to determine the nature of the trade which could be made to pay.

It follows then, that the conditions of transport since the advent of the white man, have, in respect of carriage by natives, been rendered much more expensive, and much more difficult to organise than in the days of the Arab traders. Forced labour, having to be replaced by paid labour, entails an expenditure which the value of most articles of trade will not bear, and the natural laziness of the native, until such time as his wants shall be stimulated by contact with Europeans, makes his voluntary service unreliable and in many instances practically unobtainable.

To remedy this state of affairs the inventive energy of the white man has already commenced the opening up of roads for wheeled traffic, of navigable waterways, and where neither of

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these are sufficient, and the volume of traffic has justified the outlay, of railways. In Africa, as elsewhere, railways are destined in due course to form the main arteries of communication to the sea; roads and rivers being only secondary feeders, unless in the case of the latter the communication is open and free all the year round.

There is no doubt that if access to Lake Nyasa from the sea were available without trans-shipment, as in the case of the Canadian Lakes, an immense impetus would be given to the opening up of Central Africa, and transport from its northernmost point to the Indian Ocean would provide the cheapest, if not most expeditious, communication. But unfortunately the many interruptions to through traffic between Fort Johnston and Chinde, and the want of a proper harbour at that point, neutralise to a great extent the advantages of Lake Nyasa. The British Government, with a view to minimise the difficulties of the present route, has agreed to guarantee a short line of railway through the Central Africa Protectorate, and so shorten the transport from Chiromo to the Lake, and this railway will no doubt assist very greatly in improving the Chinde route, but there will still remain the insuperable drawback of the want of harbour accommodation at Chinde, and the trans-shipment at that point and at Chiromo, with the very difficult navigation of the Zambesi and Shiré Rivers in the dry season. The principal reason which led the Foreign Office to sanction this expenditure on a scheme which is confessedly only a palliative, is that the construction of a railway will set free many thousand native carriers, who can then work in the coffee plantations, which at present are sorely hampered by the want of labour. It is to be hoped that in this respect the experiment will prove to be a success, although it seems very doubtful that the labour question, which is of vital importance to the plantations of the Shiré Highlands, will be solved without recourse to higher taxation of the natives, and the introduction of some sort of forced labour in payment of taxes.

The most thorough solution of the question of access to Lake Nyasa from the sea, would seem to be the proposed railway through Portuguese Territory from Porto Amelia to Porto Arroyo on the Lake.

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This line, which has been recently surveyed, offers no natural difficulties in its construction. Its length would be under 500 miles, and through nearly the whole of this distance its route would run through open undulating country, well timbered and well watered, with rich mineral deposits within easy reach, and a thickly populated agricultural district to traverse from end to end. The ascent from the sea to the divide, overlooking Lake Nyasa, which the railway would cross at a height of 4,000 feet above sea level or 2,500 feet above the level of the Lake, is so gradual as to be hardly perceptible. There are only three rivers of any importance to be crossed, and no heavy work of any description with the exception of the last few miles of descent from the divide to the Lake, which is abrupt. The starting point of the proposed railway is from Porto Amelia on Pemba Bay, the finest natural harbour on the east coast of Africa, and one of the finest in the world. The Bay is five and a half miles across, and eight miles from north to south, and so thoroughly sheltered by the overlapping of the two promontories which form it, that it is absolutely landlocked and secured from every wind. The entrance through two imposing headlands is wide, and thirty fathoms deep, and ships of any size can anchor opposite Porto Amelia within 300 yards of the shore.

The proposed railway runs through coalfields of excellent quality, and also traverses some of the most extensive deposits of magnetic iron ore in the whole world, of so easy melting a quality that the natives work it up, in their primitive forges, into knives, hoes, and axes. When this line is built, an enormous impetus will be given to the development of Central Africa, and the shores of Lake Nyasa will afford a vast field for emigration, for on the highlands of M'ntonia, 6,000 feet above sea level, the climate is in every way adapted to Europeans, and the soil suitable for coffee, tea, cotton, and any tropical and sub-tropical productions.

The existing traffic to the Lake, via Chinde, is sufficient to occupy three very important companies owning quite a fleet of steamers on the river and on the Lake. From personal observation I estimate it to be enough to provide a handsome dividend on the cost of the proposed railway, and the accelerated

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facilities and reduction of cost of transport would cause a great increase in the volume of traffic, for many of the products grown by the natives are too bulky and of too low a value to bear carriage by the existing methods.

If ever Rhodes' great project of a railway from Cape to Cairo be executed, it is quite evident that none of the goods which it may collect in Central Africa would, with the exception of gold or ivory, bear the cost of railway carriage to either extremity of the line. They would seek the shortest outlet to the sea, and that would be provided by the Nyasa-Pemba route, for which a great portion of the Cape to Cairo line would serve as feeder, as there is no doubt that a connection would be effected round the southern end of Lake Nyasa.

The Lake itself is upwards of 600 miles long and about 40 in width, with bold rocky shores, in some parts very precipitous especially on the eastern side. It has recently been carefully surveyed by Captain Roades, Commander of one of the Protectorate gunboats. Its waters are fresh, and from their lack of density are much more easily stirred up by the wind than those of the sea, and as the prevailing monsoons are either from the north or the south, they often get up such a sea that the small steamers which navigate it have as much as they can do to withstand the sharp and sudden gales which sweep down from the mountains. The Lake teems with fish of every variety affording a constant supply of food to the inhabitants of its shores, and many of the low-lying lands which are easily irrigated have been turned into paddy fields producing considerable crops of rice, for which the demand is almost unlimited.

The whole region of Nyasa is highly favoured from every point of view. The rainfall is abundant, (about 60 inches per annum,) and even in its present condition it is rapidly becoming a focus of civilisation in the centre of the dark continent. It would be difficult to predict the immediate development which will follow on the opening up of such a means of communication with the seaboard as the railway to Pemba Bay will afford.

While considering this matter, it will not be outside the subject to refer to the connection between the development of East and Central Africa, and the question of over population in India. There is no doubt that this country offers constantly

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increasing attraction to Indians. As traders and mechanics they are better fitted to the re-population and opening up of Africa than any other race. The Mahomedans especially seem to have an extraordinary gift for dealing with the negro. Wherever I have seen them I have been struck with the wave of propaganda of Mahomedanism and the great influence which their teaching has amongst the most benighted of the tribes. Like the Jew in Central Europe and northern Africa, the Indian trader has a remarkable facility for understanding the wants and ways of the negro, and ministering to his requirements. Sober, frugal, industrious, and pushing, he contrives to make a living and a competence, where a white man would starve. His adaptability enables him to live amongst the native tribes without exciting dislike or jealousy, and he soon contrives to get a hold upon his clients, and be looked up to as an influential adviser, while securing a material hold upon the native by advancing him seed for his crops, and buying them up beforehand. And being able to understand their many varieties of language, and live the same life as they do, he becomes a necessary institution and a link between them and the civilisation of the superior white. The difference between Europe and Africa is too great to be easily or quickly bridged over. The eager missionary whose worthy desire is to convert the negro at one stroke from savagery to the decencies of a Christian catechumen, very often only succeeds in spoiling the primitive man, whereas the ruder and simpler tenets of the Mahomedan, which are already more or less accepted over the greater part of the coast, and for a great way into the interior, are, at any rate, a step in advance of the original fetish worship of the negro, and prepare him for a further advance towards an enlightened life. The requirements of the Indian and his mode of life, the climate he has been used to, combine to render him more fit to acclimatise himself in Africa. His wants are few. If his capital is not large, his skill in trading is remarkably developed, and he can turn his hand to anything, and though physically inferior to the negro, he is in every other respect his superior, and able to impress his superiority upon him. Except in certain favoured localities, such as the highlands of Nyasa, the white man will always remain an exotic. He can rule and administer, but he

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cannot work the country: he can plan out and superintend the progressive means of transport which will open up Africa: he can organise the great lines of trade, the development of mines and industries, but he can never populate the country, He can never even bring in a sufficient number of his own race to do the work required, for the simple reason that he cannot do manual work for long in such a climate, but he disposes of countless numbers of the Indian race, able and willing to work in the tropics, educated nearly up to his standard, and yet forming a link with the lower race of the negro, with the instincts aud aptitude of the trader, the skill of the artizan, and sufficient industry to supply that trained labour, which is almost totally wanting in Central Africa, and which the negro will hardly attain except by emulation and example, and by creating within him wants which he will then learn to supply by his own exertions.

It is an extraordinary element in the ultimate civilisation of Africa that not only has England played so far the predominant part in supplying the explorers, the administrators, the missionaries, and the traders for bringing its trackless forests and wastes under the light of European Government, but she holds the chief factor for the development of Africa's wealth. The redundant population of India under a régime which has eliminated the loss by war and disease, and in many parts by famine; losses which for centuries kept the population from too rapid an increase, can by judicious aid and selection, become a potent factor in the regeneration of Eastern Africa, and supply the chief element required for colonising the enormous tracts of rich country, which to-day support a few tribes of blacks and countless herds of game. Just as the surplus population of Europe has created one of the most powerful nations in the world, in America, so the surplus population of India is destined to create a new world in Africa, and it will depend on the skill and ability with which this movement is organised and controlled how far the Mother Country will benefit by the emigration and retain its supremacy over the new nation which will result.

Oriental Africa was controlled at one time, and exploited by the Arabs from the Persian Gulf and Arabia. but the greed of the traders led them to ruin the country by their raids after

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slaves, with the inevitable result that they ruined themselves. Under the more enlightened supervision of European nations, the great task of re-opening the dark continent is now being carried out, and, with the possible exception of the Congo, the protection of the native is made a cardinal condition of the new order; but the European, although he can supply the brain power, cannot in Equatorial Africa give the nerve, and for many years to come the negro will not suffice, either in numbers or in energy, to provide the labour which is an essential factor. This want can only be met by introducing a race which can support the climatological conditions and is educated up to the requirements of the new era, and since the ever recurring famines in India prove that in many parts the population is in excess of the productive capacity of the soil, it would seem that we have here a double interest in relieving our Indian subjects and supplying to Africa the main element required for her regeneration.

A. GYBBON SPILSBURY.

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FORTHCOMING LECTURES AT CAMBRIDGE ON PRIMITIVE CUSTOM AND BELIEF

CERTAIN graduates of the University of Cambridge who are interested in Foreign Missions have realised that it would be a great help to missionaries in the field if they had some general knowledge of the mode of thought and of the religious ideas of the people amongst whom they labour. Too often the native point of view is ignored, with the result that the missionary does not understand his people or get into sympathetic touch with them. It by no means follows that a real sympathy is a necessary consequence of actual experience in the field and it has been felt that it is much more likely to occur if the missionary students have some preliminary insight into native thought. This is certainly the opinion of some missionaries who have had long experience and who have not hesitated to state their regret that the earlier years of their labour were rendered less fruitful because they had not received this preliminary training. In order, in some measure, to meet this recognised need, Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., the University Lecturer in Ethnology, has been consulted and he has arranged to deliver next term an introductory series of four lectures on "Primitive Custom and Belief," with a view of interesting missionary students in the subject. It is to be hoped that the following term some more extended and systematic study will be undertaken. The first of these lectures will be given on Saturday April 26th, at 8.30 P.M., in the lecture theatre of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge: The lectures will be free and open to all, and ladies are invited to attend.

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NATIVE INSTITUTIONS OF THE OGOWE TRIBES OF WEST CENTRAL AFRICA

AN INTERPRETATION OF THEIR MEANING AS VIEWED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE NATIVE PHILOSOPHER.

As a true index to the character and the social status of a people there can be no measure more exact than a clear outline of their civil and domestic institutions. But in order to judge them justly we must not only know the letter of their laws and customs, but we must grasp their spirit, and understand the real intent of those who founded and those who perpetuate them. To learn the mere verbal formula in which a law is expressed is not so difficult as it is to appreciate the exact cause which inspired it and the principles upon which it rests. This is especially so in dealing with the institutions of a people whose modes of life and thought greatly differ from our own. It is chiefly due to this difficulty and our ignorance of essential facts that we regard ourselves with so much favour and others with so little; and moved by this spirit of egotism we go abroad among other tribes of our human race trying to subvert all their institutions and supplant them with our own.

We not only fail to realize that their institutions have grown out of the conditions under which they live, and are better suited to those conditions than institutions which have developed under vastly different conditions and been adapted to other modes of life; but in addition to this error we do not give others credit for being equally sincere in their belief as we ourselves. The civil and moral code of one tribe of mankind may differ very widely from that of another and yet both be right. It is difficult for us to realize the fact that the same proposition does not address itself alike to all minds. A thing that appears to one mind as a

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vice may appeal to another as a virtue—what is orthodox to one mind may be heresy to another—yet human vanity is so great and human logic so pliant that we persist in the firm belief that those who differ from us must be wrong. The creeds of men vary much according to the time and place of their avowal, but as a rule they differ more in form than in essence, if we could only see them from a common standpoint.

Modern science has done much to check our haste and guide our judgment on many of the problems of human ethics, but we are still prone to cavil, and every faction of mankind is anxious to pick the motes out of the eyes of others. After all the care and labour bestowed by ethnologists on the subject of human unity, there remain many problems yet unsolved, and many tribes of men whose creed and lore are yet unknown to the scientific world, and some of these are tribes with which the white man has been in touch for centuries. Among some of them to-day there are laws in force and customs in use, the origin and significance of which are as obscure to us as the lost pleiad. This is not because they are too profound for our understanding or too flimsy for us to regard with gravity, but it is because we cling to that vain delusion that we alone are right. It is absolutely painful to any student of primitive customs to witness the contempt in which the majority of white men hold the native institutions of Africa and even more painful to witness the ruthless manner in which they try to subvert them. Among some of these tribes are systems of ethics and phases of jurisprudence that white men might emulate with profit to their race. It is not claimed that they are superior as a whole to those in use among other races, but they have the merit of being efficient and of being original, unhappily most of the meagre *data* that we have concerning them are inexact and incoherent.

Among the tribes of the Ogowe basin are found some quaint rites and customs which look to the stranger silly and insignificant, but to one who can waive his prejudices and see them from the natives' point of view they appear solemn and rational.

The few white men who go among these people do not study the meanings of native customs, but on the contrary, they deride and condemn them as heathen rites and denounce those who practice them as a lot of idiots. Whatever may be the

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errors of the native African, he is sincere in his convictions and has a deep regard for his institutions, and the disdain of the white man does not change his faith, but it makes him wary and reticent. In this manner we are deprived of the very facts which give us a clue to the psychic status of these people.

The writer does not impugn the sincerity of others who have expressed their views concerning the customs in question, but with due respect and kindness he deplores the rash conclusions of some who have described many of these rites as barbarous and cruel. It is true that some of them would not be consistent with our code of ethics, but we must interpret them from the standpoint of those who practise them.

It has often been said and very widely accepted, that every tribe of the human family believes in a Supreme Being and has some form of worship, but this declaration must be qualified by using the term supernatural instead of supreme and ceremony instead of worship.

Among the tribes in question there is no trace of an indigenous belief in any Being having the attributes of a Deity, nor is there in use among them any aboriginal rite or ceremony that may be called worship, homage, or devotion. It is true that they have a vague belief in certain mystic beings which are not human, and they believe that these beings can set in action some subtle agency of good or evil, but such beings are not regarded either as gods or devils, nor is the agency employed divine. White men have erroneously called them by such names and ascribed to them such qualities, but in the native mind they do not possess the character or title of Supreme Beings.

They believe in witchcraft, but that does not involve belief in a Supreme Being, or Deity of any kind, as may be seen by a careful analysis of their theory of its origin and limitation. In fact the whole superstition rests upon a tangible, physical basis, which makes it far more rational than similar follies believed and practised by our own proud race.

They believe that certain persons are in possession of certain secrets by means of which they are able to accomplish certain strange and mysterious things, but they do not believe that the power by which these things are wrought is inherent in the person who wields it. They ascribe the power to a certain "medicine"

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employed by the one who procures the result, and they do not regard either the "medicine" or its secret power, or the person using it as having any divine or spiritual character. Neither do they believe that the person or the ceremonies and incantations used over it, impart to it any power of good or ill. They believe that the medicine itself is the sole source of the power manifested and that any other person having the medicine could do the same thing with it. The only credit given to the witch or the witch doctor is tnat of having in his possession the secret of knowing the medicine. Their belief is absolutely materialistic and the native mind cannot conceive of the power apart from the medicine. His powers of abstraction are too feeble to grasp such a thought.

Now to explain more fully the native theory of such phenomena I shall give the native version of its origin, and having learned the true source of the mystery we may gain a view from that standpoint. The wise-men of Africa have observed many things in nature which they do not attempt to explain. They are aware that the odours exhaled by certain plants produce sleep and that others produce insomnia. They know that some odours are healthful and others are baneful, and that these effects can be produced without contact with the plants from which the odours emanate. They do not know how these things are accomplished, but they are conscious that such is the fact. The secret of the witch is knowing the plants that produce certain effects, and knowing how to compound and use the plants in order to bring about the desired results, and this is the sum and essence of witchcraft.

It is from this source that the serpent is supposed to derive the strange and subtle power of charming his prey. The natural element of the reptile race is the jungle, and here they inhale the odours and absorb the qualities of certain plants, and thus become possessed of the combined powers of many, and this is his *mbuiri* or secret; but neither the serpent nor his power is regarded as divine, nor do they conceive of any power apart from the serpent or the plants from which he acquired it.

These people have great faith in certain charms and amulets, but like witchcraft it is based upon the concrete rather than the abstract power of the thing, and this to my mind seems much

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more rational than certain similar beliefs current among white people. The African believes that the claw of a leopard worn upon the arm or neck is a safeguard against the perils of the jungle. The logic of this belief is found in the fact that the person wearing it must have conquered the leopard in order to obtain it, and if he was strong enough to overcome and disarm a leopard, then all other leopards should beware of him and all other things that fear leopards should avoid him. Another inference is that he is in alliance with the leopards, and therefore if a leopard see him wearing this charm he thinks "that man is a friend of my people and I must not harm him," and with this reflection he goes on his way and leaves the man, and if any other animal see this sign he fears the man because he is the friend and ally of the leopards. In other words, the chief source of its virtue is in deceiving the observer. Another element of its power is in the fact that all things fear the leopard and the sight of his claw inspires terror in those who look upon it. In fact every explanation of its efficacy involves the idea of its physical qualities.

Another potent charm is the tooth of the crocodile. This is a safeguard against the dangers of the water, and the explanation of its powers is the same as that of the leopard's claw. But it is not believed that the claw or the tooth is in any way divine. Its virtue lies in the fact that it suggests the state of things and the dangers of evil that might ensue from an attack upon the wearer.

The most powerful of all such charms consists of the tusk of a young elephant in the cavity of which is a bit of human flesh, a wisp of hair from the head of a white man, the teeth of a snake, the point of a leopard's claw, a few seeds from a certain plant used in making the poison for arrows, a few small yellow ants, a little gunpowder and the poison sac from a certain small snake whose bite is very deadly. These are embedded in a kind of paste made of a certain resin and the juice of the *mbundo*, a plant used in criminal trials as the crucial test of guilt. These are all securely fastened into the cavity and the tusk is then worn on the left side with the open end turned forward in order that it may be readily seen by anything the wearer may approach. Each item of this gruesome compound can inspire terror in some

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mind, and there is no one thing in all the jungle that would not fear it. According to the native philosophy the strength and virtue of this potent charm are due to the fact that it suggests to any creature that sees it that the wearer is in alliance with all the things represented in it, and that he himself possesses the strength of an elephant, the ferocity of a leopard, the stealth and venom of the snake, the wisdom and prowess of man with his poison and gunpowder, all combined in the one being, and there is no animal that would dare attack such a foe. What creature could hope to overcome such an adversary?

While the native hunter puts his trust in this composite charm, he does not ascribe to it any divine quality. It is solely the physical and not a spiritual element that he relies upon.

The same is true of the grotesque figures carved upon their canoes, and sometimes on their paddles. A native in the basin of Wkami lake once assured me that the head of a crocodile carved on the bow of his canoe had saved his life. He explained that he was capsized in the river and would have been eaten up by the crocodiles except for that figure, but when the crocodiles in the river saw it they looked at him and said, "that man is with my people, and he is either the friend of my people or the property of my people, for I see the sign of my people on his canoe. If he is the friend of my people I do not wish to harm him, and if he is the property of my people I have no right to harm him," and then all the crocodiles turned away, and the man climbed back into his canoe and pulled safely to his town. He did not explain to me just how he learned what the saurians said or thought, but the significance of his figure-head was made sufficiently clear to my mind to cause me to respect his simple faith in a charm whose merits were so evident to him.

What white man can give so plausible a reason for his own belief in even more absurd things than those I have cited? What sailor is free from superstition concerning the figure-head of his ship? Reflect for a moment and see how many thousands of our own race and kindred believe in signs, dreams, omens, charms, and divinations. When a white man or woman wears some trinket strung about them they call it an amulet or charm. They ascribe to it some virtue, and regard it as a sacred thing; but when an African native wears one, white men call it a fetish,

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and the wearer a savage or a heathen. For my own part I have more respect for and faith in those of the African than of the white man. Notwithstanding our own guilt, the missionaries of Fernan Vaz have forbidden the native to carve figures on their canoes or to wear their own tribal fetishes. By what right or authority I cannot say.

We often hear of idols and idolatry among these tribes, but after a long and diligent search for them I was surprised to find them freer from such things than we ourselves are, and those things which come nearest to being such are ideas borrowed from European sources. As an example of this institution among them I may cite one instance. I was told by a missionary who had been long among these people that in the village of Mbiro, an Orungo town on the Ogowe river, there was a huge wooden idol. In the course of my travels I went to that village, and my chief purpose was to see that idol and learn what I could about it, and the devotion paid to it. During my sojourn of five days in the town I learned more about it than the man who told me of it had learned in more than that number of years, and the sum of what I learned was this.

On a small eminence by the canoe-landing stood a rude wooden effigy of the human figure. It is a composite of the two sexes. The head is masculine, the body down to the waist feminine, and from there downwards the figure was masculine. The whole image had been stained a dingy white in colour. The top and back of the head were black, the eyes were represented by two black spots, a black line was drawn across the forehead just above the eyes, the upper lip was black, and a black on the chin indicated a beard. Around each breast and around each arm was a black line or band. The image represents the great witch-doctor, whose name is *Yassi*, and who is by far the most important functionary known to the tribes in this part of Africa. We will take a look into his personality and his duties. *Yassi* is only a man, but he lives far away in the depths of the jungle, and no one else knows the exact spot where he makes his home. He eats and drinks, sings and smokes, hungers and thirsts, lives and dies, just as other people do, but he can destroy one who provokes him, while he himself is invulnerable. His chief function is to detect and punish

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criminals, and when a crime is committed in any town and the criminal is not known, the people prepare to hold a big *Kanjo* or dance, and send to the jungle for *Yassi*. The people of the town in which the crime has been committed cannot themselves communicate directly with *Yassi*. This might allow collusion, and give the guilty one a chance to escape. Every person who belongs to the town must be present at the *Kanjo*. Therefore they must send to a neighbouring town and procure the services of two men to go into the forest and find *Yassi*. One of these men must remain in the jungle as a hostage, so as to assure the safety of *Yassi* and the reward that he is to receive. On the night set apart for the *Kanjo* at a certain time a signal is given to warn the people that *Yassi* is now approaching the town. Then the people assemble in the open space where the dance is to take place, and in another moment *Yassi* emerges from the jungle and enters the town. He is a very imposing personage, and his grotesque appearance is quite enough to try the nerves of very sturdy people. Over his face he wears a hideous mask of wood, about fifteen inches long and about twelve or thirteen inches wide. This has a pair of small, narrow slots for the eyes, another for the mouth, and another for the nose. This mask is surmounted by a great mass of the long filaments of pine-apple leaves and long bunches of this fibre hang down the sides of the face and under the chin. This looks like long white hair and beard. Then the whole body, arms, legs, fingers, and toes are covered with a great shaggy suit of shredded bark and grass. In one hand he usually carries a huge staff, and in the other a spray of the deadly *mbundo*, the plant from which is made the poison used as a final proof of guilt or innocence, and a thing which every native regards with mortal fear.

When *Yassi* has turned himself about the open space a few times he stands erect, and the people form a semicircle about him. Then in a solemn tone he tells the people of the crime that has been committed, impresses upon them the great moral wrong of crime, and states the penalty of the one he is now about to investigate. Holding aloft the spray of *mbundo*, he reminds them of its fatal character and unfailing certainty to find the culprit. He calls upon the guilty one to come forward

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and confess, and make such amends as will satisfy justice, and thus avert the greater penalty that he will otherwise incur. No one complying, he begins a kind of weird chant, and the people respond to it in chorus. He then slowly passes round the circle, talking in a low tone, peering into the faces, and from time to time flouting the spray of *mbundo* into that of any one he may suspect and watching the effect it may produce upon his conduct or expression. His own face being concealed under the mask prevents any one gaining a clue to his suspicions, while their faces being bare may betray to *Yassi* the secret he is in quest of.

It is not difficult to see that *Yassi* has many points in his favour, and he frequently detects the guilty one in a very short time. If he fail however on his first night the *Kanjo* will be repeated, and by his many devices he is sure in the end to convict some one and it usually proves to be the right one. If he has to adjourn the *Kanjo* until another night he usually predicts that during his absence the guilty person will have certain sensations which will warn him of his impending fate. His prophesies are always safe because they are so vague that almost anything that happens may be regarded as a fulfilment of them. For example, he will predict that the blood of the criminal will turn black and dry up around the heart. This will be attended by slight pains in the side or back and the victim will not sleep or rest well: or that his throat will become dry and he is liable to suffocate in his sleep. As no one can see the blood about the heart it is difficult to disprove the statement, and it is an easy matter to imagine how the fear of a guilty conscience will work upon the imagination until the culprit will experience all these symptoms and more. But *Yassi* always leaves an alternative for the sinner and gives him rope to hang himself, by pointing out three leaves on a certain tree, and assuring the people that the eating of these will allay the symptoms until his return, and thus avert the tortures which otherwise may wrack the guilty one into absolute madness. But as the others will vigilantly watch those leaves it would be equivalent to a confession for any one to attempt to secure them. It is not difficult to imagine how a guilty soul believing in such prophecies would

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wrestle in vain with the god of sleep, and how the bogie-man of conscience would twitch and twinge him with pain.

Without his mask *Yassi* is no more than any other man. His garb transforms him into a monster having the power of *mbuiri* or mystery, but he is not in any sense divine or supreme, and the people feel no sentiment of reverence or devotion to him. He is the creature of the people, as represented in the society which creates him. It is true that the people fear him, but their fear is of a purely physical kind. It is the fear of present physical pain or injury to the body, and they shrink from it just as other animals do. Even the dogs of the village are afraid of *Yassi*.

But this state of mind is not peculiar to African people or dogs. Among the most intelligent and cultured of our own race the same cause produces the same effect. People having very delicate nerves are greatly affected by the sight of an ugly mask, even when they have seen the wearer put it on in their presence. When not worn the mask does not inspire fear, because it is inanimate and passive. Children often play with them and evince no sign of fear; but when some one puts it on, thus imparting life to it, the whole character of both the wearer and the mask is instantly changed into a new and strange being. So it is with *Yassi*. In the simple mind of these people the garb and mask transform the wearer into the real living thing they see before them.

The *Nkanjo Yassi* is simply a clever piece of detective work, well planned and well executed, and I have sometimes felt a suspicion that old Lorenzo Dow[1] had really infringed *Yassi's*

[1] Lorenzo Dow, b. 1777, d. 1834—A famous Methodist preacher in the United States who conducted missions in Ireland and England in 1799 and 1802, and introduced camp meetings into England. He was a singular and original man. On one occasion an axe had been stolen. On his way to church next day Dow picked up a large round stone by the road-side, placed it on the pulpit, and after relating the theft, declared to his congregation that he was that hour called upon by God to destroy the thief unless he should confess the act, and that God had pointed out this stone as the instrument of death. He consecrated the stone, delivered a long prayer, and then raised it in the act of throwing it, at the same time assuring his hearers that God would guide the missile to smite the guilty one dead. As he essayed to hurl the stone a certain man in the church betrayed his anxiety by trying to hide behind a

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patent. It appeals to me as a shrewd and simple scheme of ferreting out crime, and indicates the resource and cunning rather than the stupidity of the native mind. I regard *Yassi* as a very useful and valuable institution—an active and efficient ally of law and order. No doubt it is sometimes abused by being prostituted to evil purposes, but the same is true of Courts of justice and Churches. Should they, on that account be abolished? What have we given to these people to fill the place of *Yassi?* We have given them a lot of moral precepts which we ourselves do not practice; and we have given them theories of justice which we have never put into successful execution.

I am aware that certain things which are true of one part or tribe of Africa may not apply to another, and that certain rites and customs often vary within the same tribe, but the matter herein described and the interpretation of it are not peculiar to the people of the Ogowe, among whom I have spent much time. In some instances it is easy to detect an infusion of European ideas, but the institution of *Yassi* seems to be quite free from any innovations from that source and varies but little in any of its details.

As a humble student of men and matters I am a mere novice, but for more than thirty years I have contemplated with sadness the ruinous march of what we have called civilization. The avarice of trade, the bigotry of religion, the zeal of conquest, and the lethargy of justice, have swept into eternal oblivion whole tribes of mankind with their institutions, history and traditions,

pillar or post of the building. Mr. Dow withheld the weapon, and without pointing out the man, begged him, for his own life's sake, to rise up and confess before the wrath of God should fall upon him. The culprit promptly complied, and the preacher was believed to be the special agent of God in thus bringing him to repentance. On another occasion when a pig had been stolen, Dow on the Sunday following uttered a curse against the unfortunate pig, and invoked the Divine wrath to manifest itself by causing a marrain or leprosy to afflict the household of the man who stole it unless the pig should be returned by the next day at noon, whereupon the curse should be revoked. The next morning the pig had been returned. But certain persons kept watch during the night and detected the man who returned it, and evoked from him a confession. The name of Lorenzo Dow is to this day a household word in hundreds of rustic homes, and he is yet believed by thousands to have been inspired in his marvellous works.

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and not a landmark is left to point out the spot where they once flourished. For years I have pleaded for the preservation of native names to native places, for the preservation of native monuments and institutions, but one by one I have seen them wiped away from the records of time and vanish like shadows into the night.

Now that the cause of rescue has found a champion in the organization of the African Society I gladly lay this small contribution at its feet, and ask for a place in its archives.

R. L. GARNER.

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Sir Sidney SHIPPARD, K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S.
The Right Hon. Sir Richard TEMPLE, P.C., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.

They were three of the first members of the Committee formed in 1900 for the purpose of founding the "African Society," which owes to them an everlasting debt of gratitude for their very energetic and cordial support at all times, and the great interest they took in its successful progress.

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FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF
MARY KINGSLEY

NO. IV. JULY
1902

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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

NO. IV. JULY
1902

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

NOTES ON A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF BERBER DIALECTS OF NORTH AFRICA

MY object in drawing up these tables is to endeavour to lend, by the help of comparative philology, some aid to the enquiry into the origin of the Berber race. I have, therefore, utilized the lists prepared by the Bengal Asiatic Society, and by adhering throughout to the system of transliteration of Lepsius (2nd edition, 1863) I hope to lay these dialects parallel with such others as have been also tabulated, in a form easily to be utilized. These tables shew that all the dialects spoken north of the Haussa-speaking regions (with the exception, of course, of the Arabic) are merely slight variations of one language.

The Berber races, anthropologically, seem to be an amalgamation of four distinct classes—two dolichocephalic, one dark the other fair, and two brachycephalic, also one dark and the other fair. In each of the different nations, one or other of these types more or less prevails, so that it is easy to identify at once

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the tall spare native of the Atlas range, the slight, fair-haired, blue-eyed Kabyle, the heavy, powerful Jibali, or the short, round, "bullet-headed" Gerbi. But, besides their language, they have several other characteristics in common. An indomitable independence, which in spite of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years of political submission to all kinds of alien rule, holds its head up proudly still. The Berbers have always been heretics too. In Christian times they were Donatists, in Mohammedan times they have nearly always been "Khăwāmīsīyē," or "Kharejiya," or "Wahabis." Then, in contrast to the wandering, thieving, wasteful Arab, the Berbers of all kinds are hardworking, frugal, honest agriculturists or traders, thrifty and enterprising, and even the roving Twarik is not like the nomad Arab. Another striking feature all the Berbers seem to share is the use of caves, or excavations, natural or artificial, some as dwelling-places, others as storehouses for grain, or cattle, or for workshops or places of refuge. Thus the Gharian Mountains in Tripoli are honeycombed with cave-dwellings, and the Matmata range in the south of Tunis is like a rabbit-warren, thickly inhabited by a pre-historic Troglodyte race. In Kabylia, the "Matmuras," or underground storehouses (called by the French "silos," though they are never used for ensilage!) are an important part of every village. These are also in use in nearly every other part of North Africa. The custom has also, I believe, been traced across parts of Europe and Asia, and Mr. E. Fallot, then Secretary of the Marseilles Geographical Society, wrote a paper in that Society's Journal, in 1886, to shew that the chain of "silos" leads back as far as the Himalaya Mountains! If this indicates a North Indian origin of the Berbers, perhaps some dialect still lingers near the "Roof of the World" which can throw some light on the Temēzigh tongue.

Although a not inconsiderable amount of scholarship has been exercised on the quest of Berber origins, at present, I believe, no approach has been made to a satisfactory conclusion. Some maintain that the Berber is a Hamitic, or African dialect, and in support of this, I am told that some affinity may be noticed between its vocabulary and that of the Haussa tongue. On the other hand, the Semitic character of the Berber grammar is too marked to escape attention, and some

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have classed the Berber with the Semitic languages. But Dr. Bertholon, a learned member of the "Institut de Carthage," who has studied the Tunisian dialects, and who has also applied the anthropologic tests of race, maintains that they are of Indo-European origin, principally descended from the prehistoric inhabitants of the Grecian Archipelago. He has published too a series of papers in the "Revue Tunisienne," tracing the ancient Greek legends connected with North Africa, and particularly Libya, and connecting them with the latest discoveries in Egypt, and with the hieroglyphic accounts of early Libyan invasions of that country. He shews such a constant stream of European immigration into North Africa, as seems to prove his point. In presence of such a variety of opinion, I cannot pretend to decide on any theory. But I think the enquiry has been too much restricted to two parts of it only, viz. (1) the peculiarities of the Kabyles, their complexion, "village republics," and "silos," and (2) those of the Twariks, who have a highly organized aristocratic system of kings, nobles and vassals. These are undoubtedly important elements, from the ethnological point of view, but they are not universal among all the Berber nations. A comparison of the different dialects, will shew that the Twarik and the Kabyle dialects present more points of difference from the general consensus than any of the others.

Perhaps the truth lies midway between all the theories. The Berber race seems to be a composite one. I have mentioned the anthropological evidence of a four-fold stock. The historical accounts speak of (*a*) an autochthonous population of Libya, (*b*) incessant immigration from all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. (See Herodotus, ii. 18, &c., iv. 41, 42; Sallust, Bell. Jugurth., 18; Diodorus Siculus, iii. 49, &c.) The linguistic test seems to point to (*a*) a Semitic grammatical system, (*b*) a decidedly non-Semitic vocabulary, (*c*) a peculiar partiality for soft aspirates—γ δ θ. The grammar is Semitic in principle, but not in detail. It either represents an archaic form, earlier than that of Arabic, Assyrian or Hebrew, and perhaps forming a link between early Semitic and early Aryan grammar, but later than the Agglutinative era, or else it is an adaptation of a later Semitic principle to an existing vocabulary.

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I do not know whether any example of such a change exists. The only strong Semitic influence in North Africa, known to history, is the Tyrian settlement in Carthage. But it is doubtful, to say the least, whether this influence was so powerful, and so far-reaching as to have affected the speech of the whole of North Africa, in such a uniform manner as the present elaborate Berber grammar would require. The vocabulary is non-Semitic. The characteristic sounds of ع and ح which are common, and I believe, peculiar, to all the known Semitic dialects, are entirely foreign to the Berber. None of the commonest words, such as those for minerals, fruits, animals, the elements, relationships, occupations, parts of the body, &c., &c., seem to shew the remotest connection with any of the Semitic vocabularies that I have been able to consult. One of the most remarkable features of the Berber dialects, and one common to them all, is the attractive power of certain particles over a final *n*, or "movable *d*," or the objective pronouns which I have described in the Notes on Jibali Grammar. If any light is ever thrown on the origins and fates of the early races which came into Europe from the East, whence sprang the Pelasgians, the Etrurians, the Iberians, the people of the Neanderthal skull,—it may reveal the sources of the Libyans, the Getulians and the Numidians, the kinsmen of Antæus and the Lotophagi.

GEORGE BABINGTON MICHELL.

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N.B.—Throughout

English.	I. Twarik, *or* "Imuhāγ," *of the Sahara.* N.B.—The words in this list have been taken from the French-Twarik Dictionary of Sid Kaoui, a Kabyle. As the Twarik characters are there given, I can guarantee the consonants, but not the vowels.	II. Mountains South o Tripoli, Barbary. *This dialect is spoken thro out Fezzan, including Ghadames and Ghat.*
1.—One	Ĕyĕn, fem. ĕyĕt	ūdžūn, fem. ūdžūt
2.—Two	sin, fem. snatĕt	sĕn, fem. sĕnt
3.—Three	keraǧ, fem. keraǧĕt	
4.—Four	okkoz, fem. okkozet	
5.—Five	semmus, fem. semmuset	
6.—Six	seðis, fem. seðiset	
7.—Seven	eṣṣa, fem. eṣṣahet	
8.—Eight	ettam, fem. ettamet	
9.—Nine	teẓẓa, fem. teẓẓahet	
10.—Ten	merä'u, fem. mĕrä'wĕt	The Arabic numerals are used.
11.—Twenty	senätet tĕmĕrä'wĭn	The "hand" reckoning, see
12.—Fifty	semmuset temerăwin	No. IV., is also in use.
13.—Hundred	timiði, plur. temäð	
14.—I	nek	nĭtš
15.—Of me, my	i (in, hin, ni) (suffixed)	ĕnnŭ (suff.)
16.—Mine	wa inū (in, hin, ni) (= "*that of me*") *or simply* inū	ĕ'nnū
17.—We	neknið, fem. nekentið	nĭ'tšĭn
18.—Of us, our	neγ, neneγ (suff.)	ĕnnä'γĕn
19.—Ours	wa neγ, wa neneγ, inneneγ	ĭ'nnäγĕn
20.—Thou	kei, fem. kem	tšĭk
21.—Of thee, thy	ĕnnĕk, fem. ĕnnĕm	ĭnĕk *or* ĕnĭk, fem. ĕ'nnĕm
22.—Thine	wa ennek, fem. wa ennem, *or* innek, fem. innem	ĕ'nnĕ'k
23.—You	keunĭð, fem. kemetið	šĭkwĕn
24.—Of you, your	nūĕn, ĕnnūĕn, fem. ĕnkĕmĕt	ĕ'nwĕn
25.—Yours	wa nūen, fem. wa ĕnkĕmt *or* innūen, fem. ĭnnĕkĕmt	ĕ'nwĕn
26.—He	ĕntä, fem. ĕntät	nĭt, fem. nĭtĕt
27.—Of him, his	s, ennis, ennit	ĭnĕs *or* ĕnnĕs
28.—His	wa ĕnnis, *or* innĕs *or* innit	ĭ'nnĕs
29.—They	ĕntĕnĭð, fem. entenetið	nĭtĕn, fem. nĭtĕnt
30.—Of them, their	nĕsĕn, fem. nesenet	ĭ'nĕsĕn

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LAND TENURE AMONG THE NATIVES OF THE IVORY COAST

Author's notes indicated thus: *a*, *b*, *c*, etc.
Translator's notes thus: 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.

THE two millions of natives who inhabit the Ivory Coast do not belong to one race only, and do not, therefore, present the same habits and characteristics. While we need not examine with any great detail their numerous sub-divisions, it is necessary to indicate the main branches into which they are divided, in order to classify distinctly those customs which relate to land-tenure. So far as our present knowledge extends, they are four in number viz: Agnis; Mandingoes; the tribes inhabiting the Ebrié, Lahou, and Fresco lagoons; Kroos. With regard to the two latter groups, it ought to be stated that the classification adopted is geographical rather than ethnological.

I.—THE AGNIS.

The relationship between the Agnis and Ashantis established by M. Binger is indisputable. The Agnis are a group of the great ethnic family which includes not only the Ashantis but the great majority of the Gold Coast tribes and about half the inhabitants of the Ivory Coast.[a] They occupy in our Colony (the Ivory Coast) Jaman or Abron, Assikasso, Indenie, Sanwi, Assinie, Bettie, Morenou, Mango or Anno, and all the Baoule countries. I do not number in the above the people of the same race living north-west of Bontuku among whom Mandingo influence preponderates, nor those residing in the Coast villages, who are for the most part, as in the large market-town of Mouossou near Grand Bassam, of Zemma[b] origin.

[a] See Delafosse, *Essai de manuel de la langue Agni*. Paris, 1901, part 7, page 182 and following.

[b] "Zemma" is the indigenous name of the Appolonians who inhabit the Gold Coast in the vicinity of Axim.

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The habits of the Agni peoples, if not absolutely identical, are at any rate fairly similar. Amongst the Agnis of the Baoule* country land tenure is conceived on the following lines.[1] Landed property is both individual and collective, in the sense that it belongs to the head of the family who has alone the right of disposing of it, but that all the members of the family have the enjoyment of it. In the matter of landed property, a distinction must be drawn between the dwellings and the tilled lands. For the dwelling-house the right of ownership lies in the fact of having built the habitation. The origin of the rights of ownership in land is more complicated. It dates back to the forcible seizure of the soil by the Ashanti conquerors under Queen Puku about 1750. Since the conquest of Baoule, in the course of intertribal wars, certain groups acquired fresh rural property by expelling, always by force of arms, the former owners.

In the beginning of things therefore rural property is found to be collective, each group of conquerors acquiring land by force of arms, and thereby becoming its collective owners. This tradition has lasted to the present day in this manner—that rural property is divided among the villages, each village possessing its own landed property. This property is then subdivided between the different heads of families in the village, and in each family it is generally the custom to make allotments of the family property to the various adult members, thus leading to individual ownership in land.

Mineral property (*i.e.* the sub-soil ownership) is regulated by the same customs as rural property.

There is a fact which cannot be too strongly emphasised, viz: that in Baoule landed property is divided into two distinct sections, which might be termed unproductive (waste) land and productive land.

Unproductive land comprises open country or prairies, rocky ground, and all trees and vegetable products growing wild on it.

* The particulars concerning Baoule are borrowed from a manuscript work by M. Delafosse, Administrator.

[1] To describe the terms *propriété immobilière* and *propriété foncière* of the text, which in French have the same signification, the expression *landed property* has been used. If this be considered too general a term, it could be substituted by *real estate*, which, juridically considered, is perhaps a more accurate rendering, but which, on the other hand, might not be so easily grasped by the general reader. (*Translator.*)

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Productive land comprises forests and mineral ground, all vegetables growing on it, and all natural products both above and below the soil.

The first section (open lands and rocky ground without minerals) is owned collectively—or to speak more accurately, in common—by the village situate upon the property. All the inhabitants of the village without exception are entitled to cultivate the open country, to cut the grass, to hunt over it, to remove earth for the purpose of building huts or making pottery, to fell timber, and to collect the produce of the trees, such as palmyra-palm [1] wine, the palmyra-palm growing on the prairie. But all labour undertaken upon this common ground carries with it separate ownership by each individual of the plot which he has worked, as well as of the vegetables or products in connection with which he has devoted his labour. Thus if a man has cleared a corner of the prairie of its undergrowth in order to sow ground-nuts, for instance, that particular corner becomes his individual property: or if, in the dry season, a man has cut a path round a particular portion of the prairie for the purpose of setting fire to it and hunting on it, he is henceforth the owner of that particular portion and no one but himself has the right either to hunt there or to set fire to the grass: again, if a man has begun to tap [2] a palmyra-palm in order to draw wine, or has even done nothing more than indicate by some outward sign, that he intended to tap a palmyra-palm tree, that palmyra-palm tree belongs to him: the procedure is the same in the case of felled timber, or timber to be felled.

The outward sign of ownership varies a good deal. It generally consists in a bit of wood stuck in the ground with something placed upon it, such as a snail-shell, the fragment of a jar or bottle, a tuft of grass or leaves, a piece of bark containing sand, a few hen's feathers, a ram's horn, an animal's skull, etc. These outward signs of ownership, which are often found at the entrance of a path or a plantation, or beside a cut palm-tree or a pile of fire-wood, are quite erroneously called fetishes by Europeans.

[1] *Borassus flabelliformis*, the palmyra or black Run palm (Moloney); the *ronier* of the French.

[2] The word used is *étêter*, literally to cut off the top of the tree.

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The second section (forests or mineralised ground) is divided amongst the various families within whose territory such lands are found, and in turn each family divides its portion between its adult members. In this case a man is not free to cut wood in the forest wherever he pleases, or to fell such and such a palm-tree (the oil palms grow in the forest), nor to gather kolas from the first tree he comes across, nor to tap rubber from no matter what vines, nor to cultivate any ground he pleases.

In point of fact (save the northern part of the Baoule country) plantations are always made in the forest, except plantations of ground-nut and palmyra-palm which succeed better on the open country (prairies), and tobacco plantations which are usually laid down near the houses in the villages. We may therefore reckon that all the forest and mineralised districts in Baoule are separate property, and that all open districts are the collective property of the villages. Not an inch of ground but has its owner or owners. But it is obvious that a village will concede its property rights over open lands without much difficulty, whilst a family or an individual will be far less disposed to cede ownership over forest or mineralised ground.

If land suitable to cultivation and separately owned is allowed to lie fallow in order that the worked-out soil may recuperate—which takes place after a few years in the case of all cultivated land—it nevertheless continues to belong to that individual or family.

If a man or a family, owning a particular plot of ground, leaves a village to settle elsewhere, that individual or family loses in fact all proprietary rights ; it does not follow however that any one can make use of that plot of ground : on the contrary, it becomes again the collective property of the village.

Every year the heads of families in each village meet, and if any lands have thus become vacant owing to the emigration of their owners, a new delimitation of land is undertaken so as to ensure that the whole territory owned by the village shall be fairly distributed between the families.

It may be asserted that individual and family ownership in land is deeply rooted in the minds of the Baoules.

Ownership implies the right of using the holding, gathering its products and disposing of them.

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Usufruct is only established through permission granted by the owner. Thus a village can grant to another village the right of cutting wood: of extracting palm-wine, or rubber, or gold: of cultivating its territory. Similarly one individual can grant to another the usufruct of his property. This usufruct ceases at the will of the owner and confers no proprietary rights upon the holder.

An individual can only build upon his own ground or upon that of his family, or on the common land. Permission is, however, readily granted by a land owner to build upon his property: in such cases the owner decides on the extent of land he will alienate to the grantee.

If a dwelling place has been abandoned by the final departure of the owner it becomes the property of the members of his family who have remained in the village: if the entire family leave the village, the dwelling house is converted into common property, and belongs to the first occupant.

Servitudes foncières, properly so called, do not really exist. A public road cannot however be merged in a private property, and must in principle be kept clear by all who use it. In ordinary practice it is only in the neighbourhood of villages that paths are looked after: elsewhere they are only maintained by the feet of the wayfarers. Paths going through plantations are the special property of the owner of the plantation, and are kept clear by him. But everyone has the right to use them, unless they happen to bear the outward signs of ownership which have already been alluded to.

People are entitled to hunt over private property unless it is enclosed, or unless access to it is forbidden by an outward sign of ownership. In a general way however people may not hunt over cultivated land without the owner's permission.

Fishing in every stream and at all seasons is free, just as hunting is free: but if an individual has put down nets or fixed up a dam, or any structure in a stream, or if a hunter has laid traps, the fish or game captured by these means, even on land belonging to some one else, belongs to the fisherman or the hunter.

Mineralised land, like forest land, belongs to the village or

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to the group which acquired it by right of conquest, either in past days at the time of the Ashanti invasion, or more recently by conquest over a rival tribe. It can be affirmed that there is not an atom of mineral land in Baoule which is not the property of natives.

The mining property of a village sometimes remains undivided, and at other times is divided among families like rural and forest property. In general it is worked in a different way to rural property. In the majority of cases the village, the family, or the individual to whom the property belongs, does not develope the mineral resources of that property, or rather does not work it alone. The owner allows all who apply for permission, no matter to what family or tribe they may belong, to settle on his land and dig gold from it, but he gets a royalty upon it, varying in amount, but usually assessed at one-fifth. If the property still belongs in common to all the village, one of the heads of families is authorised by the others to collect the royalty, and at the close of the mining season he distributes it among the heads in the village.

Amongst the Agnis of the Indenie country,[a] the territory occupied by the tribe is in principle the property of the Chief of the tribe. This territory is divided out among the several villages, who use it, develope it, and gather its natural or cultivated products, but are responsible to the Chief of the tribe for the conservation of the soil.

Separate property or property in family groups only exists in tilled lands, dwelling houses, and the gathering of natural products which require labour—mining for instance—and even then, it is only an emphyteutic holding which can be inherited, the real ownership of the soil remaining vested—as above stated —in the Chief of the tribe.

In practice, the Chief of the tribe only draws a revenue from the common and stool lands when he confers upon strangers belonging to other tribes the privilege of working certain natural products of the soil, such as auriferous deposits or rubber vines. When auriferous deposits or rubber vines are in question, the royalty usually amounts to one-third of the quantity extracted.

[a] The details concerning the Agnis of Indenie are taken from the Author's manuscript notes, and from a report by M. Tellier, Administrator.

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In the Aburgourou region (the central part of Indenie) the stool land does not belong to the Chief, but to his mother, a princess of royal blood, because succession amongst the Agnis always runs by uterine descent through collaterals.

In the north of Indenie, among the Abrons,[a] ownership of land was founded on the right of conquest. When they entered the country, and had subdued the N'Goulangos or Pakhala, a few families of Abrons spread themselves throughout the land as settlers. But before taking up his abode in any particular spot, the head of an Abron family invariably asked the former N'Goulangou owner for permission to occupy the ground—rather in fulfilment of a custom than in the light of an obligation. One or two fowls sacrificed to the local fetish cemented the contract. Then other Abron families followed, and with the sanction of the head of the first family grouped themselves round him, thus forming a village, of which the first occupier and his descendants remained the Chiefs.

Thus in theory the N'Goulangou would be the owners of the soil, but in point of fact, as they are unable to dispossess the Abrons who have settled amongst them by force and by virtue of a series of contracts, the latter are the true masters of the lands they occupy. From all this it follows that the Chief of an Abron village is necessarily the sole owner of the soil upon which the village is constructed, as well as of the soil tilled by the inhabitants, since the land has been delivered over either to him or to one of his ancestors.

But in fact the land occupied by each inhabitant for dwelling purposes and for cultivation belongs to him personally, although it was the Chief of the village or one of his predecessors who authorised him or his ancestor to dwell upon or cultivate land belonging to the Chief.

According to custom, when a landowner has authorized a native of the country to settle on a holding the grant cannot afterwards be cancelled. It is not so when the grant is made to a stranger. Forests and mines are never alienated: they are still looked upon as the property of the N'Goulango. When an Abron, village Chief or any other, wishes to work a part of the forest to collect rubber, for instance, he seeks out the

[a] Manuscript Report of Capitaine Benquey of the Colonial Infantry.

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N'Goulango owner and makes over to him a portion of his harvest as royalty (generally a third or a half). Exception must be made however for the King, and the very big district Chiefs who work the auriferous deposits for their own profit without asking anyone's permission.

The cultivated land is held in common in the family. The head of the family, after having selected the ground suitable to cultivation, reserves a portion of it for himself and distributes the remainder between the other members of the family. The partition once effected, all concerned work on the chief's plantations; then everyone cultivates the portion assigned to himself and retains the harvest.

Among the Agnis of Sanwi who occupied that country by force, the land is the King's by right of conquest. As in Indenie, however, the villages and cultivated lands constitute actual private property, which however is held in common by the family. All uncultivated land and all mines are theoretically regarded as the chief's lands. In practice his subjects make a fairly extensive use of them, and the customs prevalent in Indenie are evidently similar here.

It is essential not to lose sight of the close relationship which unites all these Agni tribes to the neighbouring tribes of the English Gold Coast. The resemblances are very great, since the Agnis of the Ivory Coast owe their origin to Zemma, Aka, and Ashanti invaders from the Gold Coast, who have more or less mingled with or overlaid the conquered races that inhabited the country before them. These invasions moreover are comparatively recent. In Assinie they date back to 1630 and to 1670: in Sanwi to the end of the seventeenth century: in Assikasso, to about the same period: in Indenie, to 1745: in Baoule, to 1730: in Bettie to 1740: in Jaman to 1746: in Anno or Mango to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

It may be easily understood, therefore, what an interest our knowledge of the Agnis gives us in the study of works published in England on the peoples of the Gold Coast. I will mention those I have been able to consult:

T. E. Bowdich: *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashanti*, with a statistical account of that Kingdom: London, 1819, 4to.

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A. B. Ellis: *The Tshi speaking peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa.* London, 1887, 8vo.

W. Hutton: *The tone of Africa.* London, 1819–1821, 3 vol. in 8vo.

Ramseyer and Kuhu: *Four years in Ashanti.* London, 1878, 8vo.

C. C. Reindorf: *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, based on traditions and historical facts, comprising a period of more than three centuries, from about 1500 to 1860—Basel, 1895, in 8vo.

J. N. Sarbah: *Fanti Customary law.* London, 1897, in 8vo.

II.—THE MANDINGOES.

Although the Mandingoes have the leadership, more or less apparent, but very real, in all the north of the Ivory Coast, occupying more especially the centres of Bontuku, Bouna, Kong, Sakala, Konni, Odienne, Touba, and Tingrela, yet the Mandingoes are not the only inhabitants of that vast territory. Beside them are living, in various degrees of independence, tribes whose occupation of the country is more ancient, such as the N'Goulangos or Pakhalla, the Senoufos, the Los, the Wa-Diulas, etc.

Nevertheless the incursion of the Mandingoes into that region dates back a long way,[a] since Bitou or Bontuku is twice mentioned by the author of the Tarikh-es-Soudan as being in commercial relationship with Jenne and Timbuktu as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Although converts to Islam for centuries, and attached to the second of the great orthodox sects—that of Malek ben Aus—(manuscript epitomes of jurisprudence by Sidi Khelil one of the principal Malekite law doctors are found at Bontuku), the Mandingoes do not practise the civil legislation whose principles are laid down in the Koran.

As regards the subject which we are discussing, we find the following customs in force among the Mandingoes of Bontuku.

[a] Consult G. Binger, *Du Niger au Golf de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*, Paris, 1892, 2 vols., 8vo.; and *Tarikh-es-Soudan*, par Abderrahman ben Abdallah ben Inran ben Amiz-es-Sadi, translated from the Arabic by O. Houdas, gd. in 8vo., Paris, 1900.

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Landed property, in so far as it consists of dwelling houses and the ground upon which these dwelling houses are constructed, is marked out and ownership regularly established. It would seem to originate in the concession made by a Wandara Chief (more or less aboriginal) to the first Mandingoes who settled at Bontuku. Landed property appears to be inalienable. Dwelling houses may be private property, but the ground upon which they are constructed is held in common. The owner or owners of a real estate can confer the right of occupation upon a third party but may not sell it. If the owner who has conferred such a right should die, his heirs cannot withdraw the right.

The holder cannot therefore be dispossessed of his right except by him who has conferred that right upon him, and only in very rare cases. He is bound to keep the premises he uses in a good state of preservation. It should be here noted that, generally speaking, the Mandingoes of Bontuku are merchants and town-dwellers: rural property is not looked upon by them as of much importance, and they appear to conform in respect of it to the customs of the people among whom they live, the Abrons and N'Goulangos.

In Bonna, the Mandingoes live under the sway of an absolute monarch, regarded virtually as the sole owner of all the land in his kingdom. In practice those who build, clear the ground and sow, peaceably enjoy the fruits of their labour and can transmit to their heirs their buildings and plantations.

In Jimini, Diamata, and the Kong country, the head of the family is considered to be the owner of the family lands. He is entitled to use but not to alienate them. The members of the family owe one day's work per week to their head, who selects such day as he sees fit. He on his side must provide for the maintenance of any sick members of the family and of orphans.

The boundaries of agrarian property are rather ill defined since cultivation has been carried on from time immemorial in the same places by the families. The fields lie for the most part in bush land. The rights of a family which has died out revert to the Chief of the country.

More detailed information is available for the Seguela district.[1] In that district occupation confers ownership. On the first day

[1] Manuscript report by Captain Moreau of the Colonial Infantry.

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of the formation of a village upon vacant territory the families who settle upon it divide the chosen site between themselves, and each of them clears the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of its huts and secures as much land as possible in the same position, so that other people who may afterwards settle in the vicinity should not be able to lay claim to unoccupied land.

The village is therefore the centre of a circle the sectors of which are assigned to different families, whose huts are constructed at the apex of the angle. The boundaries with neighbouring villages are always determined by geographical features or well-known landmarks.

When a stranger comes to the village, he applies to the head of a family, who authorises him to establish himself and cultivate in his sector. The family owns its particular sector, and no one can set up within it without the family's consent.

In the event of litigation arising between members of the same family over the laying out of a plantation on ground situate within the sector and not yet utilised, the right of occupancy belongs to the person whose plantations are the nearest to the spot in dispute.

Land is therefore originally the property of the village. It is divided into sectors for each family, and within each sector into cultivated ground according to the resources of each member of the family. After the first partition amongst the families has been carried out, no further modification is made. Landed property is consequently both collective and private. The land-owner only enjoys on his land the products of the labour he has given: the natural products of the land (timber, non-cultivated fruits, etc.) are the common property of the village, except palm-wine and palm-Kernels. The latter are collected in each sector by the members of the families on the piece of land made over to them.

Waste land being generally very extensive, the decision to authorise a foreigner to settle in a particular sector is always well received; it involves payment of money or its equivalent. The amount of such payment is not a regular one: it is generally represented by presents to the oldest member of the family—who has the right of authorising the settlement. Per-

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mission to settle may be cancelled, but the stranger must be given sufficient notice to enable him to start farming elsewhere, and he cannot be driven out before reaping the crops he has sown.

The entire country is divided into cantons, bounded by mountains or water-ways: the cantons are sub-divided into villages, and the village lands are parted out among the families. If there is much uncultivated land, there is, on the other hand, not any land at all to which some individual, family, or village cannot lay claim. This distribution of land, effected at the start in friendly fashion, was modified in course of time by force, but much less than one might be tempted to believe in view of the numerous wars which have devastated the country.

The land, as common property of the family, is inalienable. The field cultivated by an individual is his personal property so long as he farms it: his rights lapse when he allows a season to pass without farming.

If in a plot assigned to a family, the productive portions become insufficient, the family divides itself, and the departing members settle (with the consent of the interested parties) in another village or found a village of their own.

It was stated above that side by side with the Mandingoes, there are numerous other peoples—more or less indigenous—not belonging to the same race. The only one of these tribes on which we have up to the present any details that are at all circumstantial is the tribe of N'Goulango or Pakhala.[1]

With them, land is owned by the head of the family who receives it from the village chief: the owner must give the chief twelve months' notice if he wishes to change his holding. The family farms in common, first of all the plot which its head has set aside for himself, then that of the oldest member of the family and so on, in rotation, until all the farming has been done.

Uncultivated land belongs to the village. Forests are generally leased for the tapping of rubber to foreigners who pay a royalty the amount of which, if paid in cash, has to be determined; if paid in kind, the royalty consists of one-half the crop.

The head of the family being the sole owner of the land con-

[1] Manuscript report by M. Folquet, agent for native affairs.

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fers upon whomsoever he may please, without consulting the remainder of the family, the right of farming on the land belonging to him ; but he cannot dispose of such portions of the land as may already be under cultivation.

The owner can give or withhold permission from anyone to go over cultivated land, but he cannot prevent the drawing of water from a well which might exist upon his property. The right of drawing water belongs to everyone.

The other customs of the N'Goulangos relating to property appear to have been borrowed either from the Mandingoes or from the Abrons and do not present interesting particularities.

III.—THE PEOPLES OF THE LAGOONS.

The inhabitants of the Potou, Ebrié, Lahou, and Fresco lagoons form a group rather more geographical than ethnical. I have endeavoured to explain [a] the diversity of the tribes of which this population consists, by the circumstance that peoples of various origins driven by wars and invasions from the interior have been cast side by side or have united in seeking refuge on the coast. It is also reasonable to assume that a closer study of these tribes will allow their relationship with other African races to be established. M. Delafosse [b] appears to have succeeded in connecting some of them with the Agni group, which was dealt with at the beginning of this study.

The Alladians [c] who for two centuries have been known in Europe as Jack-Jacks, are amongst the most important and interesting peoples of the Ebrié lagoon. To understand their laws of property, a word must be said of their family organization. Although apparently it resembles that of European societies, with father, mother, and children, the father's authority scarcely exists and from the civil point of view he is not the parent of his children. The true family amongst the Alladians only takes account of the uterine parentage. It is on the uterine parentage that social organization is based. The members are called Etioco, and it is the eldest of these Etioco who is the real head of the family, whether it be man or woman.

[a] Clozel, "Ivory Coast, area and population," Paris Geographical Society, *Bulletin*, 2nd quarter, 1899.

[b] Delafosse, *Opus laudatum*, part 7.

[c] Manuscript report by Administrator Lamblin.

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The Alladians are owners of the soil they occupy, without its being possible to say whether they have acquired it by right of conquest, or as first occupants of vacant lands. At first they were grouped at Abreby and only made use of the neighbouring territories. Little by little, certain families separated themselves from the principal group and founded villages, taking possession at the same time of the requisite ground for the construction of the village, and of more or less extensive outskirts. Boundaries between villages and villages were thus created and remain to-day. Such land belonging to a village which is neither cultivated nor built over, constitutes a kind of communal ground.

All land in any way cultivated or worked becomes the property of the first man who cultivates or works it. It is still the custom to acquire property rights by cultivating ground on which no one has ever worked: a temporary cessation of work on the land is not held to cancel ownership. In the same way collection of the products of the soil confers rights of ownership. Thus the man who first cuts the branches[a] of the palm-tree on a certain territory has acquired the right, which he can hand on to his heirs, to work the palm-trees on that territory.

Right of ownership may also accrue from discovery: for instance if a hunter comes across a tree in the forest out of which he can construct a canoe, he marks it and it becomes his; if a man from the village subsequently wishes to build a canoe, the hunter points him out the tree he found and marked—for a consideration.

The marshy stream which flows between Jacqueville and the Lagoon is the property of an individual who has inherited it. This stream was discovered by the slave of an Alladian named Mambe who lived at Abreby. Mambe settled by the stream and founded a village which became Jacqueville. By the discovery of his slave Mambe became owner of the stream, as of the ground which he has occupied and cultivated on its banks.

Landed property may be sold.

Lands handed down by inheritance are the private property

[a] By this is meant the operation which consists in removing the branches of the palm-tree, in order to enable the natives to swarm the trunk and collect the kernels growing at the top. The process might be described as charring (or pruning) the tree.

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of the Chief of the Etiocos of the deceased, and perhaps he has in theory the right to dispose of them as he pleases, but according to the custom of the country he usually divides them amongst the other Etiocos, his wives, children, and slaves—each of whom cultivates his or her particular plot. The crop of each plot belongs to the person who has reaped it, but the soil remains the property of the Chief of the Etiocos.

The hut generally belongs to a single individual, but several Etiocos can come to an understanding to construct a hut; they then use it jointly interested according to the agreement made between them. If they dispose of it they divide, also according to the agreement, the proceeds of the sale.

The urban ground upon which a hut is constructed is only the property of the builder for as long as he is in occupation of that ground. If the hut falls into ruin and he abandons it, the ground may be occupied by the first Alladian who comes along.

When a path exists on fallow ground and an individual starts cultivating that ground, he must respect the pathway or else cut another one bordering his plantation. Moreover, if the public have to go much out of their way in order to use the new path, he must respect the public freedom of the first track. That is the only public charge known to the Alladians. Every one has the right to hunt over other people's land, even if under cultivation, provided no damage is done.

The customs of the Adionkrus from the neighbourhood of Dabou on the Ebrié lagoon do not materially differ from those of the Alladians as regards landed property: nevertheless they do not seem so thorough or precise. Huts, plantations, and fisheries appear to constitute the only separate, or at least, family, ownership. The remainder of the village territory forms a vast commune, where the collection of natural products and especially of palm-oil and kernels, is free to all the inhabitants of the village. Villages can lease a portion of their land to other villages for the purpose of collecting palm kernels: the lease is given for the crop and the rent is paid for it in advance, by manillas (bronze bracelets passing as currency in the lagoons).

Amongst the Brignans of Lahou[a] ownership appears to have

[a] Manuscript report of Administrator Ribes.

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originated in conquest. This tribe is not indigenous, and its settlement in the country would seem to have been one of the consequences of the great Agni migration we have already referred to.

This origin explains the fact that the real ownership in the soil is entirely distributed among twenty or so chiefs of hereditary groups: the elective chief of all the tribe himself only possesses the portion he has inherited. The other members of the tribe are simply the usufructuaries of their huts and of their plantations. The total products of their cultivations also belong to them, with the exception of the products of the palm: in the latter case the usufructuary only disposes of two-thirds of the crop, one-third belonging to the head of the group owning the soil. The same custom prevails in the case of fisheries, a third of the proceeds going to the Chief.

The landlord chiefs have the right of alienating their domain. The documents we possess on the peoples of the lagoons do not take us any further. With the exception of the Alladians, the social state is much less advanced than that of the Agnis and Mandingoes.

IV.—THE KROOMEN.

The inhabitants of the Colony from the Sassandra to the Cavally have been known to Europeans for about a couple of centuries as Kroomen. They furnish most of the labour of the Colony, as also the workmen shipped on the majority of the steamers which ply up and down the West African Coast.

Their ethnological and philological affinities have not been sufficiently studied to enable anything very definite to be asserted on the subject. Identical occupations and habitat permit of their classification in a common group, until more precise data are available for the adoption of a more scientific classification.

Among the Kroomen of the Sassandra region[a] property is collective as regards non-cultivated land, fishing rights, and forest trees growing wild. It is individual for everything produced or perfected by the work of man. Certain territories,

[a] Manuscript notes of Administrator Thomann.

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certain parts of the sea, and waterways, are held in common by the family village or tribe. That kind of property cannot be alienated; sometimes the Chiefs dispose of the usufruct of it, but never part with it entirely.

Among the Kroomen of the West bank of the Cavally[a] landed property is always collective, the whole of the tribe being included. Dwellings and farms are always owned individually, but not the soil which supports them. This soil is leased by the Chief to any inhabitant upon making the request, but only for the period during which it is occupied. If the hut be destroyed, the plantations abandoned, then the soil enters once more into the collective ownership of the tribe. The tribal territory is sub-divided into village territory. The ownership of the soil cannot be alienated.

We know too little about the hinterland people of the Western Coast of the Ivory Coast to speak of them here. They do not appear to be very important and are, moreover, very much more savage than those of the littoral and other parts of the Colony.

I do not think it necessary to draw conclusions from the above study, as I merely desired to place on record the greatest possible number of facts sincerely observed on a given subject, and thus to contribute to our knowledge of the natives of West Africa.

F. J. CLOZEL.

[a] Manuscript report of Captain Pourchot of the Colonial Infantry.

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GOLD IN WEST AFRICA

ITS ANTIQUITY—GOLD-PRODUCING AREAS—HOW OBTAINED —GOLD WORK—GOLD WEIGHTS—PRESENT GOLD MINES —THE FUTURE OF THE GOLD COAST AS A PRODUCER.

With Illustrations.

THE gold-bearing areas in the vast continent of Africa are apparently three in number, two of which date from the most remote times. The first is found in the north-eastern corner of the continent, including Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia; the second extends along the whole of the western shores from Morocco to the Volta, while the third occupies the enormous areas in the south-eastern districts. The two first-mentioned areas are of most remote origin, while the third is of comparatively recent date. Tradition on the west coast of Africa points to sensational finds of the precious metal, and the barbaric splendour of some of its past rulers freely justifies such tradition. Ghana, the old name possibly of Guinea, was famous among the ancients for its golden throne; Bontuko, for its golden stool, while Bowdich tells us that the King of Gaman, of which Bontuko was the capital, had steps of solid gold by which he ascended to his bed. The Ashantis were most proficient in the manufacture of ornaments made from gold, but were surpassed by the people of Dagwumba, who inhabited a large territory to the north-east of the Ashanti country, ornaments being made in weight to the extent of more than 1,000 ounces.

In fact, the whole of the states north and south of the great range of the Kong Mountains were more or less well supplied with extensive deposits of the precious metal, the source apparently being the Kong range itself, the northern limits being the borders of the Niger. For centuries this vast territory poured

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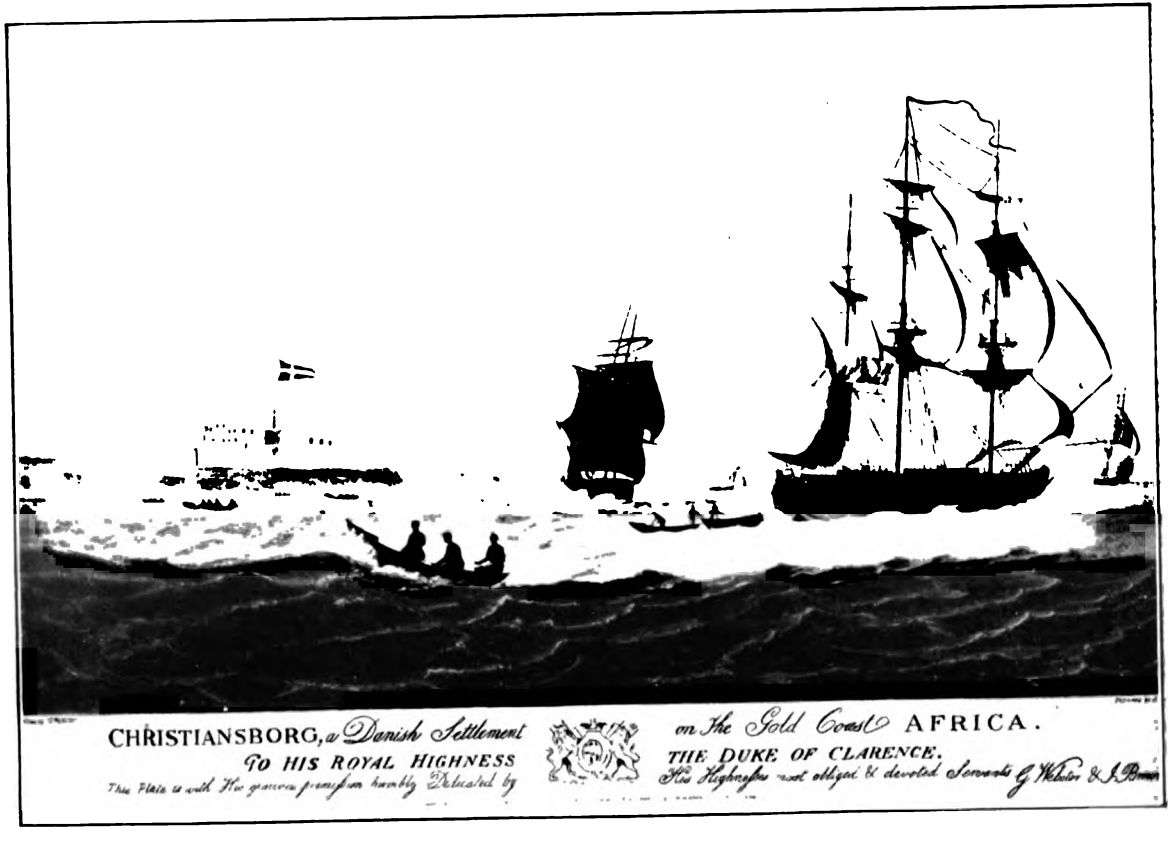

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into Europe millions of pounds' worth of the precious metal, and coming down to Bosman's time, early in the eighteenth century, we find six distinct areas in and about the Gold Coast supplying the yellow ore. These were Denkira (which then included the stations of Wassaw, Encasse, Juffer and Commendah), Acanny, Akim, Ashanti, Adansi and lastly Aowin.

With regard to Denkira this writer says "The first country which produces gold is *Denkira*, which includes the conquered states of Wassaw, Encasse, Juffer, and Commendah." The Denkiras at this period were a very powerful race of people, possessed of vast treasures of gold, partly obtained from their own mines, and partly from plunder and commerce with the interior tribes. That the countries mentioned produced a vast supply is proved by the fact, that the Denkiras from their acquired territory, and from those states in subjection to them, produced enough gold to satisfy the demands of the coast from Axim to Sekondi, a distance of forty miles, containing some eight forts or trading stations. The metal thus supplied by the Denkiras was very pure, though often alloyed with "fetishes," oddly-shaped figures composed of several ingredients. Sometimes these "fetishes" would be mixed from one-third to one-half of their value with alloys of earth, silver, or copper; those of pure gold being kept by the natives for ornament and seldom parted with. Thus in the early days of his history, the native knew the value of trying to sophisticate his gold for the European.

The second district was *Acanny*, a province not marked in Bosman's map, but lying somewhat north-east of the Axim country between Ashanti and Akim. The people of this country were greater traders than the Denkiras, and bought the gold of Ashanti and Akim, which in addition to their own, they brought down to the forts of Elmina, Cape Coast, Mouri, Anamaboe, Cormantine and Winnebah. The gold brought to the coast by the Acanny people was never mixed with "fetishes" and on this account it was known to the coast natives as "Acanny Sika" or Acanny gold "Sika" being the native word for the precious metal. These people in turn fell to the power of the Denkiras, who themselves were defeated by the Ashantis, and in after times formed one of the most powerful allies of that rapidly extending state.

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The third district was *Akim*, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced as large quantities of gold as any land that he (Bosman) knew, and that being also the most valuable and pure of any that was carried away from the coast. Akim gold was easily distinguished by its deep colour, and was brought to Accra unalloyed in any manner whatever. Auriferous Akim, as it has been termed, was generally described as the hill-land, lying an easy journey of a week north by west of Accra, and north of the Aquapim Mountains. The Akims in their turn fell before the superior powers of Ashanti and Aquamu, and were, early in the eighteenth century, forbidden to dig gold by their conquerors. Eight times they were defeated by the former power, and upon each occasion again purchased their independence by the supplies of gold that their territory produced.

The three countries thus mentioned were esteemed in the time of the Dutch to be the most prolific gold-producing areas of the Gold Coast, though there were others not then thought to be so rich in the precious metal. The principal of these other places were Ashanti, Adansi, or Anansi as Bosman has it, and lastly Aowin. From this it will be seen that the gold-bearing districts in the colony were six in number, extending from the Tando or Tano River in the west, to the Volta River in the east, a distance of more than three hundred miles, the whole coast really deserving the name that was bestowed upon it.

Bosman gives us but little information concerning two of these last three territories owing to their distance from the coast, and we must also remember that in his time the power of the Ashantis was then in its infancy. In the time of Bowdich, the Ashantis possessed vast stores of gold which were obtained from their own mines, as well as by tribute from conquered tribes, and this passed as the currency of the country. Issert, the Danish physician, speaking of the King of Ashanti says: "This mighty king has a piece of gold as a charm, more than four men can carry, and slaves are constantly at work for him in the mountains, each of whom must collect or produce two ounces of gold per diem." The Ashanti pits at Soko were reported to yield from 700 to 2,000 ounces of gold per month, and their store was further increased by the daily washings throughout Denkira and

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the hill regions between Akim and Assin, then reputed to be very rich in gold. In addition, each chief paid a tax to the King of Ashanti upon the gold ornaments in his possession, and all tributary states contributed annual payments which amounted in all to nearly £10,000 per annum. This was exclusive of the tribute demanded in slaves, cows, sheep, cotton and silk goods.

Rock or nugget gold when found, had always to be brought to the king or chief, a third only of its value being given to the finder. On stated occasions the market-place in Kumasi was washed, and produced as much as 800 ounces of gold at a time. Gold dropped in the market-place belonged to the king, and could not be again picked up on pain of death. The gold thus obtained was stored up by the fetish men against future difficulties, and in times of danger, it is said, was buried in their sacred river the Prah, where I believe much will ultimately be found.

The fifth territory, Adansi or Anansi, the country to the south of Ashanti east of the Tando River and to the east of Denkira, also furnished large quantities of gold. The sixth and last place was Aowin, the strip of country lying north of Apollonia and to the west of Axim. At one period it supplied vast quantities of the precious metal which was pure and unalloyed, and the people who brought it to the coast were among the most civil and fairest dealers of all the negroes with whom the Dutch, according to Bosman, "traded with a deal of pleasure." The country of Aowin was, however, destined in its turn to become tributary to the rising power of Denkira, though not until many battles had been fought. After their defeat, the gold brought down by the Aowins decreased in amount, the inhabitants of the country preferring rather to let it remain in the ground than to dig it for the benefit of a neighbouring tribe.

The gold obtained by the natives in these early days was of two kinds, dust gold and mountain gold. The former was of the finest nature, often as fine as flour and obtaining the highest price, whilst the latter varied very much both in size and quality. The size of the pieces of mountain gold varied from grains no larger than a pin's head, to others varying in value to twenty or thirty guineas, but these latter were always mixed with a multitude of small stones, which greatly reduced their value.

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The gold thus found was produced, according to the natives, in three different kinds of places, the exact locality of which was seldom or never divulged to the European, for fear that he should take possession of their mines and thus rob them of their store of wealth.

The best gold was reported to be found in or between particular hills, where the natives dug pits and separated the gold by washing it from the earth thus obtained.

The second place was in or about the various rivers and waterfalls, where the violence of the water brought down large quantities of earth, bringing the gold with it.

The third place was along the sea-shore, particularly where the streams and rivers emptied their waters along the coast.

This all points to the fact that many of the present hills and mountains in the interior of the Gold Coast must form the sources from which these supplies were then obtained, and that in spite of the enormous quantities that have been obtained in the past, there must still remain in the country vast stores of the precious metal waiting to be discovered and worked by European energy and enterprise.

In later times the known gold-bearing areas became reduced to three, Wassaw, Akim, and Ashanti, with its powerful rival the Gaman country, none of which have ever been properly developed, and which became practically forgotten by the opening up of California and Australia on account of the gold discoveries in those countries. After the lapse of many years attention is again being turned towards West Africa as a gold-producing area, and a short account of what really does exist in the Gold Coast will perhaps not be out of place.

Tarkwa, the present centre of the most important mining industry of the colony, is situated in Wassaw, some forty miles from the coast, travelling by bush and river, and is now reached by railway from the port of Sekondi.

There is no doubt that the present group of Tarkwa mines was one of the centres in the Wassaw country, from which the Portuguese and the Dutch were supplied with their gold, though the mines themselves were never held or worked by these early adventurers.

In the Apollonian country are to be found remains of old

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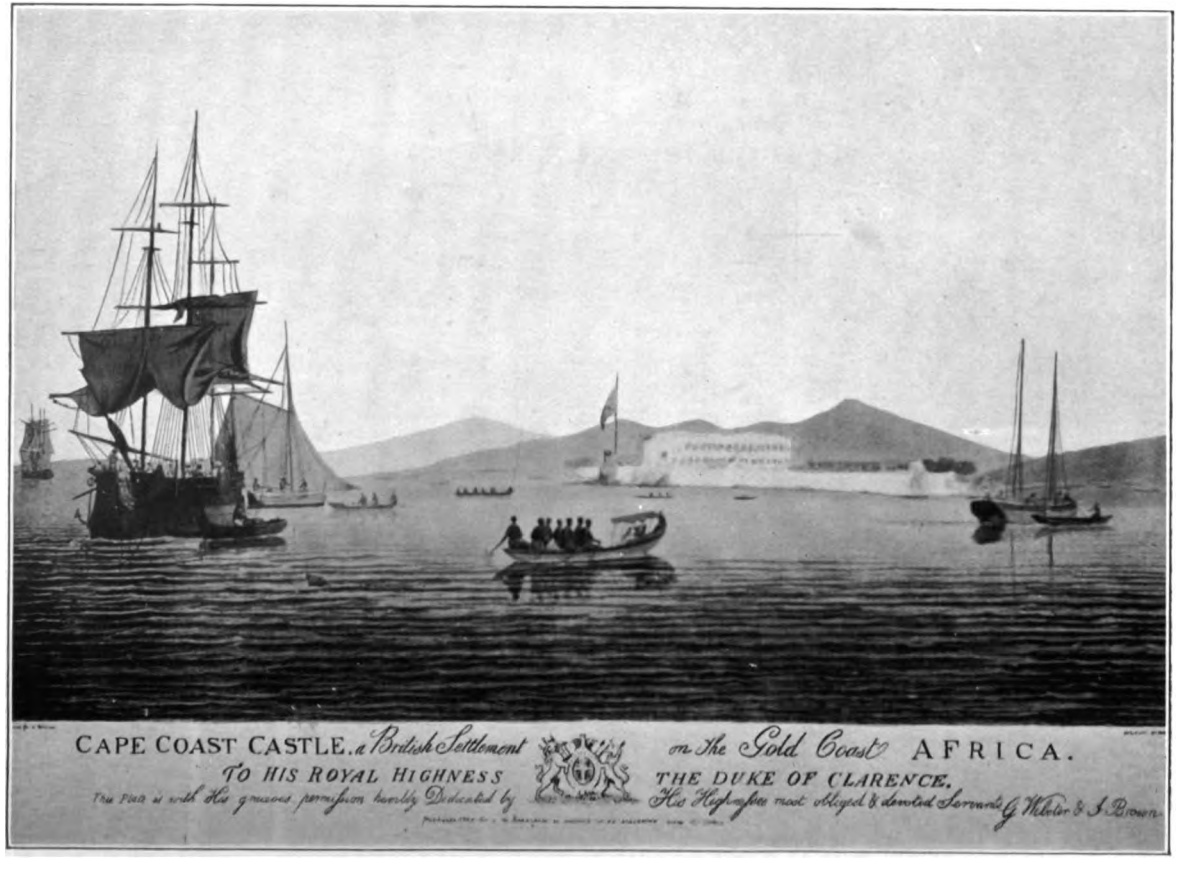

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native mines which were visited and described by Burton and Cameron in 1882, and leased through their instrumentality by the late Mr. R. B. N. Walker, who had first visited the place in 1881. The first was called the Izrah mine, situated within an easy march of the coast from Nanipoli and which promised not only to pay but to pay well; the second lay some distance east, a little south from the first at a place called Imyoku, near new Amanta, and could be easily approached from the town of Esiamo on the coast. This mine also gave some wonderful specimens and promised to give a rich reward to the owners. Nothing, however, is heard of these at the present day. A third was situated at Ingotro, a short distance west of the Ancobra River, and was of far larger dimensions than the two previously mentioned. Nothing has been done with this.

Down to the end of the eighteenth century the mines remained entirely in the hands of the native owners, but in 1825 the Gold Coast Mining and Trading Company with a capital of £750,000 was formed, for the purpose, among others, of extending the intercourse now subsisting with the native chiefs and princes, and of making arrangements with them to introduce a better method of working the mines and pits in the Denkira, Wassaw Ahanta, and Fanti territories on the Gold Coast. This company however, left mining alone, and confined its attention to trading. Coming down to still later times, viz :—1874, M. Bonnat, a French trader, drew attention to the possibilities of this part of Africa.[1] He explored the Volta River until stopped by the Ashantis, and was held by them for five years as a prisoner in Kumasi. Released by the Ashanti war of 1873-74 he returned to France, and succeeded in the foundation of the Société des Mines d'Or d'Afrique Occidentale. This was more of a syndicate than a company, and devoted its energies to the acquisition of concessions and to demonstrating the practicability of dredging the bed of the Ancobra for gold. The exploration of this syndicate lasted for about three years, when Bonnat again returned to France, and in 1879 he was instrumental in forming the Anglo-French Compagnie Minière de la Côte d'Or d'Afrique

[1] Whilst in the employ of Count de Cardi—this was after his captivity in Ashanti—he actually got as far as Salaga, and opened business relations there on behalf of Count de Cardi.

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or the African Gold Coast Company. He returned to the coast again in 1881 and died there in July, 1882, being buried at Tarkwa. His name will always be associated with the Tarkwa mines, for he was the first European to call attention to their possibilities, and to visit them. Others have followed, but he was the first. The two French companies joined hands in 1886, and in 1888 the mines were taken over by an English company which has since that time been quietly opening them up, with promise of great success.

Gold washing is as a rule the work of the women throughout the colony. Each woman is furnished with a number of large and small wooden bowls or calabashes, which are filled with the earth and sand obtained by the men from the manholes. This earth is repeatedly washed with fresh water in a most adept manner, the stones and earth being thrown out by a rapid rotary motion of the bowl till it is cleaned from all the earthy matters. The gold on account of its weight sinks to the bottom of the tray. This residue is then passed to a smaller tray and the process repeated until nothing is left but the grains of gold and a little sand, which are again washed and the gold finally extracted. Throughout nearly the whole of the Gold Coast, wherever water is available, these washings are carried on, and the farther inland one travels the richer the alluvial deposits appear to become. In some places quartz is roughly pounded, but this generally consists of only those pieces that show visible gold. A slightly hollowed slab of granite is generally used for this purpose, upon which the quartz is pounded with a hand-stone. Often the same stones are used for grinding the quartz, that are used for pounding the native corn to make flour.

The Fantis and the Ashantis are the most expert goldsmiths at present in the colony, but in the past each important tribe, in fact each important town, had its goldsmith who fabricated rough ornaments for the king and chiefs and the richer portion of the community. These generally took the shape of bangles, rings, studs, bracelets, brooches, chains, and charms of all kinds, or fetishes as they were called, ornamented with a common pattern, the "signs of the zodiac," which were no doubt introduced to the country by the first visitors, the Portuguese. The workmen, however, are very skilful in the art

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of imitation, and can make an article to a set copy or to any design that may be furnished to them. Articles thus made are sold for the value of their own weight in gold, plus a commission of twenty-five per cent. for workmanship; thus an article weighing one sovereign would be sold for twenty-five shillings. Gold ornaments thus made are very soft, owing to the absence of alloy, which when it is used generally consists of a little silver. The natives work in silver as well as gold, charging fifty per cent. of the value for workmanship in the former, owing to the greater difficulty of working the harder metal. The implements at the command of the goldsmith for his work are of a very primitive character. Some bees' wax, a modelling block and stick, melting pots and trays are his chief tools. Their mode of procedure is as follows:—Sufficient bees' wax for making the model of the article wanted is worked out upon the modelling block or table by the side of the fire on which stands a pot of water; the modelling stick, a piece of flat, hard wood, is dipped into this, and with this the wax is made of the requisite softness for working. It takes the workman about a quarter of an hour to make the model of a ring. When the model of the article wanted is finished, it is enclosed in a case of wet clay and charcoal, which, being closely pressed round the models, forms a mould. This is then dried in the sun, and has a small cup of the same materials attached to it (in which to put the gold for melting) communicating with the model by a very small aperture. When the whole model is finished, and the gold for the article to be made enclosed safely in the cup, the whole is placed in a charcoal fire with the cup undermost When the gold has had time to become fused, the cup is turned uppermost, in order that it may run into the place of the melted wax, and take its place in the mould; when cool the clay mould is broken, and the article taken out, which if not perfect is again melted and the whole process gone through again. The stoves for their fires are built of swish or native mud in a circular form and about three or four feet in height, being open for one-fifth part of their circumference. Through the closed part a hole is made on a level with the ground of the fire, through which the nozzle of the bellows is to pass. The bellows are an exact imitation of our own, made with sheepskin tied to the wooden

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sides with leather thongs, and often two or three pairs of bellows are used to one fire. Should an anvil be wanted, a large stone is generally selected for the purpose, or a piece of iron placed on the ground, and upon this rude surface all hammering work is performed. When the article is completed, it is covered all over with a layer of a kind of red ochre (called Inchuma by the natives), and placed in boiling water mixed with salt and some of the same red earth, boiled for about thirty minutes, and then taken out and finally polished. This process gives a colour to the gold. In addition to the manufacture of ornaments for the people, the goldsmith is the buyer and seller of the gold dust for the district. He possesses a complete set of weights and scales, the former varying from the value of a farthing to £24 6*s*. The ackie or one-sixteenth part of an ounce is the unit of value. A native proverb says, "You cannot buy much gold for a farthing," and in this, at least, all Europeans will agree. There are thirty-five weights, each with a distinct value, in use in the Ashanti and Fanti countries. The complete set of weighing apparatus is curious and very complicated, consisting of blowers, sifters, spoons, native scales, and weights of many kinds. The smaller weights are no larger than tiny seeds, while the larger consist of brass or copper castings of almost every article, animal, fruit, fish, or vegetable with which the people are acquainted.

A native miner has but few implements: a long-bladed spud or digger, a wooden bucket for baling out the water or hoisting up the stuff, and a bowl for washing or "panning" make up the list. These and his method of descending his shaft are shown in the sketch annexed. He rarely makes his shaft more than three feet in diameter. Planting one end of his digger into a recess in the shaft he places the other end diagonally against the opposite side of the shaft, and supporting himself by it, his foot is placed in another of the recesses. He then lengthens out his body and fixes his back firmly against the side of the shaft. Thus supported, he removes the digger, plants it in another recess below the first, and by repeating the operation gets to the bottom of the shaft. A tunnel, which cannot be long for his neighbour's shaft is only fifteen to twenty feet from him, is next driven.

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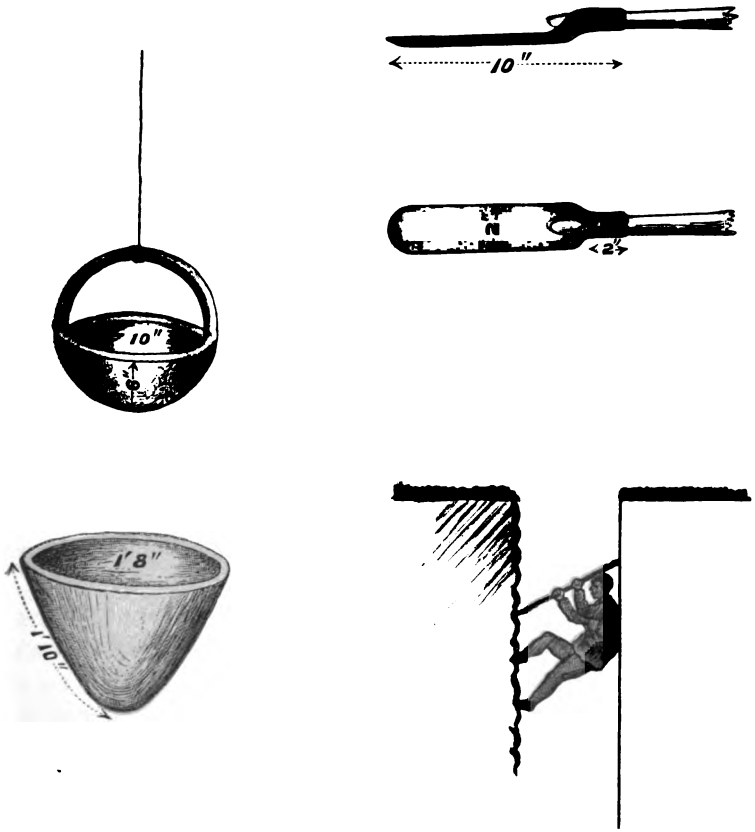

NATIVE MINING IMPLEMENTS.

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In some cases there is a quick return, nuggets not being rare, as I have been informed by various chiefs throughout the country. From all one can learn about the yield from these alluvials, the result seldom exceeded about £2 10*s*. per ton, but it is safe to assume that as no machinery was used a quantity of the mineral must have been wasted in the rough process of washing.

Whatever the yield may be, the numerous native shafts now serve as catch-pits for the surface water, and as the rainy season sets in all the workings are suspended; a few of them are renewed during the dry season, while most of them are permanently deserted and new shafts sunk.

In this way in many parts of the Gold Coast the native miner has honeycombed the ground, and in many places it is so honeycombed that it becomes actually dangerous to walk about without the exercise of the greatest caution.

Since its first discovery by the Europeans, it has been roughly estimated that many millions sterling of gold have been produced from the Guinea Coast, and in its most flourishing days the town of Elmina alone annually exported £3,000,000 worth of the precious metal. Early in the eighteenth century Bosman computed that twenty-three tons of gold were annually brought by the natives to the forts along the coast, a ton of gold in Holland at that date being reckoned at 100,000 guilders or about £10,000. He made the total output 7,000 marks, and estimated it in the following manner:

The Dutch West India Company	1,500	Marks.
The English African Company	1,200	,,
The Zealand Interlopers	1,500	,,
The English Interlopers	1,000	,,
The Brandenburgers and Danes	1,000	,,
The Portuguese and French	800	,,
Making a total of	7,000	,,

Early in the nineteenth century the export became reduced to slightly under £500,000 sterling, about 120,000 ounces, and averaged this amount for nearly half a century. Early in the sixties this export fell to under 50,000 ounces, constantly varying between that and the 120,000 ounces of the earlier part of

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the century. This became again reduced in the seventies and the eighties to an annual average of about £120,000 sterling, which is about the output at the present time.

With the decline of the slave trade began also the decline in the gold-mining industry, though the discovery of new gold-bearing areas in more healthy parts of the world must also have had its effect upon the output of the Gold Coast. Another reason for the decline is that the natives always wash and dig for years in the same place after the rains. They seldom or never follow the gold to the hills from whence it is carried by the torrents, but rest content with the head waters of the various rivers that flow from them, where the rapidity of the stream has already cleared much of the sand and clay away for them. As a rule, the richest deposits are found after the rains, near the foot of some hill where gold has been previously seen. According to the natives the most likely places in which to find gold are those that contain a foundation of reddish sand mixed with small particles of black matter like fine gunpowder, called by the natives "sana mira." The same style of washing and panning is common throughout the Gold Coast, and apparently there is an art even in this simple process, for some women will find gold where others cannot. No mercury is ever used, and consequently much fine gold must be lost in the primitive process of washing. In some places nugget gold is again buried, in order that a more bountiful supply may be obtained in the future, and tradition has it that in some places the presence of a thin white smoke or vapour leads to a rich deposit, while the finding of white gold (silver) invariably leads to the abandonment of that particular place. The presence of ferns is also regarded as a sign of ground rich in the precious metal. Fetish too plays an important part in West African gold finding. Accidents were common in the native shafts owing to the inability of the natives to shore-up the walls, and these caving in often caused loss of life, and led to the closing of that particular place. This is particularly true of the country round Winnebah near Mankwadi, or the Devil's Hill, and near the right bank of the Volta, where there are supposed to be some very rich deposits.

Very little, however, will be done in the way of mining in the Gold Coast, particularly in these interior provinces, until some

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comprehensive scheme of roads and transport has been devised, in order that the interior may be reached in less time and with greater ease than at present. What development can be expected in a country where head carriage has up to the present formed the only means of transport and it takes ten days for a parcel of sixty pounds' weight to reach Kumasi from the coast, at a minimum cost of 12*s.* 6*d.* for carriage, a rate equal to nearly £25 for a ton? No mining scheme for the interior of the Gold Coast will ever succeed that does not include provision for a means of transport, and the construction of better roads than at present exist.

The future of the Gold Coast lies in its commercial prosperity, and this can only be increased by greater attention to the mining capabilities of the colony, and to the production of timber and rubber. Good roads once established, the introduction of wheeled traffic will soon follow, though the matter of animals for draught purposes will still be somewhat of a difficulty. Horses do not appear to thrive, oxen I think have never been tried, elephants would be too expensive, but mules from Canary could be used to great advantage. These last are now being tried by the Government in the Public Works Department.

Every coast line, however bad, has somewhere in its length a natural coign of vantage where engineering artifice could easily step in and make the necessary improvements. This natural advantage in the coast line is to be found along this surf-beaten shore between Dixcove and Sekondi in the western part of the colony, somewhat nearer to the latter place than the former. At Takoradi is a bay large enough to contain a fleet at anchor, with deep and comparatively still water, and at Apoassi, or Sekondi, is a natural point which could be extended into the sea without much difficulty, and formed into a breakwater, along which vessels could moor and discharge their cargoes undisturbed by the long Atlantic swell for ever breaking on this coast.

Takoradi Bay should be made the chief port of entry for the colony, a coast railway should be constructed west to Axim and Apollonia, and east to Cape Coast, Saltpond, and Accra, with branches to Tarkwa, Insuaim, Kumasi, Kyebi, and Abetifi. A further line should be constructed from Accra to Kpong.

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The Tarkwa line could run direct from Sekondi; the Insuaim-Kumasi line from Saltpond, and the Kyebi-Abetfi line from Winnebah or Accra. The capital required to construct a harbour at any other point along this coast would be sufficient to lay the greater part of the much-needed coast railway. If Apoassi were made the chief port of entry for the colony, I am aware that it would necessitate the establishment of a Customs station and European officials at or near that point, but this is a difficulty that should be easily overcome.

Early in 1889 the Tarkwa group of mines was visited and fully reported upon by the late Sir W. Brandford Griffith, the governor of the colony at that period, a full account of which will be found in No. 66 of the series of reports relating to Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions, published in 1889. I cannot omit the closing remarks of this report.

"My visit has impressed me with the following convictions:—

"1st. That the country is rich in gold and that it is merely a matter of the necessary time and scientific application for that gold to pay well for extraction.

"2nd. That earnest and well-considered attempts are now being made to secure success.

"3rd. The country once opened up and cultivated would yield rich returns to capital invested in the economic agriculture of any kind of tropical produce; but

"4th. That the natives of the country cannot, unfortunately, be relied upon to supply the necessary labour, which must come either from the Kru country or from China."

The following is a list of the mines then in existence:—

1. Eassaman Mining Company.
2. Akanko Mine.
3. Swanzy Shaft of the Wassaw, at Adja Bippo.
4. Teberibe Mine.
5. Cinnamon Bippo Mine.
6. Swanzy Estates.
7. Tarkwa Mine.
8. Abosso Mine.
9. Essaman.
10. Gie Appantoo.

It is interesting to note that after a period of some thirteen years of more or less activity, all the above mines are gradually coming into prominence and that the areas mentioned by the early writers of the 16th and 17th centuries viz. Wassaw, Apollonia, Ashanti, Akim, Axim, Elmina and Kwahu are now

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playing an important part in West African gold development under modern conditions.

In addition to the above we now have the important Ashanti Goldfields Corporation group, with its subsidiary undertakings at work in Ashanti, besides such minor companies as The Obbuassi, Akinassi, Claude's Ashanti and Bibiani also actively at work, while last, but not least, come the Gold Fields of Eastern Akim and its group of minor companies, working practically alone in the Eastern portion of the colony.

In the palmy days of the gold export from Guinea, the natives were very adept artists in the sophisticating of gold, neatly counterfeiting and falsifying both the gold dust and the mountain gold, so as to deceive even experienced traders who came to the coast. Nugget gold was made with the outside of the thickness of a blade of a knife of the purest gold, while the space within was filled with copper or iron filings. Other nuggets were made of a mixture of silver and gold, or copper and gold, highly coloured to improve upon the deception practised. Dust gold was sophisticated by the introduction of copper or coral dust, the whole being highly coloured in order to complete the fraud. To such an extent was this carried on that Bosman describes the natives of the Dixcove country to be so intractable, fraudulent, villainous, and obstinate that the English could not trade with them, but were compelled by the natives at last to agree jointly to cheat all the ships that came to trade there by putting this sophisticated gold upon them. The old Dutch factor was very strong upon them, having no doubt been bitten in his turn, and quotes a case where the masters of two small English ships received false gold for the whole of their cargoes, of which they disposed one to the value of £1,700. Bosman says they complained to the English governor at the time, but that to complain to him was as good as going to the devil to be confessed, and the trade in false gold so prospered that open business was done in it at the rate of one dollar for two pounds' value sterling of false, until this part of the country became known as the false mint of Guinea.

Time alone will show, whether those who have pinned their faith to the future of The Gold Coast as one of the gold producing areas of the world, are right in their predictions, and the

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writer is one of those who hold such optimistic views. The present cloud, under which West African mining enterprises are at present somewhat hidden, will in the course of time pass away, and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that when The Gold Coast does emerge from the difficulties that now retard its progress, we shall see not one centre of mining development in full swing, but three such centres, with Tarkwa, Kumasi and Kyebi as their respective headquarters. A year ago things generally went a little too fast for the country ; to-day they are moving a little too slow. What the country requires to re-establish its reputation is a production of gold upon a commercial basis, and this we shall see in my opinion in due course from three distinct and different sources :—first, from the treatment of alluvials, secondly, from the ordinary reef mining propositions, and thirdly, from the banket and deep level formations.

GEO. MACDONALD.

LONDON, *June*, 1902.

Note.—The illustrations to this article are from a series of old prints in the possession of the writer, and the method of native mining is from a sketch by the late Mr. Ferguson.

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THE CULTIVATION OF THE COTTON PLANT AND THE AGRICULTURAL FUTURE OF SENEGAMBIA AND OF THE SOUDAN

THE apprehension of a Cotton Trust in the United States, and the scarcity of cotton in every market, have caused considerable anxiety in England, Germany, and France, the three countries which chiefly suffer from the short supply of raw material.

German experiments in West African planting have been made in Togo-land, with the help of Negro experts brought over from America. Germans are also encouraging cultivation of cotton in the Russian possessions in Central Asia; where in 1900 seven million pouds of cotton were produced (1 poud is something over 35 lbs.): that is two million pouds more than the amount produced in 1899. In the same way the Germans are endeavouring to develope cultivation of cotton in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria.

France has opened enquiries as to what she may be able to do in her West African possessions, and the following paper describes the immense quantities of cotton which may be produced under proper management.

English experiments have not yet gone very far. Samples of cotton seed were lately sent to Lagos to be sowed in different places, and the plants must now be approaching maturity.

Governor Sir C. A. King-Harman, in some remarks he made to the chiefs and people at Bandajuma, February 12, 1901, said as follows:—

"Cotton is much wanted in the English market, and a large English merchant has written to me to say that he will give £50 to the first person

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who will send to England from here a ton of cotton. That does not mean the price of the cotton, it means a present for the first ton which is sent away. I do not know the price, but I know that they are anxious to buy. Cotton is easy to grow, and if every town would plant a little it would bring much money into the country. I can get the best seed, and I am ready to give it to those people who will sow it."

The meeting held in Manchester on the 7th of May last, and the contributions promised by various merchants, show the interest which is now felt in the development of cotton plantations within British dominions. At the second meeting held in Manchester early in June last, a certain sum was provided for the opening of necessary researches and experiments, Sir A. L. Jones promised £100 a year for five years and offered to carry cotton home freight free for one year, Mr. John Thomson promised £250. 0. 0 to be spent during the next five years, Mr. John Holt of Liverpool, Mr. Hutton, Sir George Cotton and Mr. Swanzy promised to follow the lead given.

The following influential committee was at once formed :—

Manchester Chamber of Commerce—John Thomson, J. A. Hutton, Sir Geo. Cotton, M. S. Bles, John Walkden, G. B. Zochonis. Liverpool Chamber of Commerce—Sir A. L. Jones, John Holt, D. L. Wright, J. R. Callender, T. H. Barker. Oldham Chamber of Commerce—J. E. Newton, B. Crapper, C. Newton. Halifax Chamber of Commerce—A. W. Whitley, John Robertshaw. Bolton Chamber of Commerce—W. M. Musgrave, W. H. Hoyle, C. H. Woods. Bury Chamber of Commerce—F. Whowell. Blackburn Chamber of Commerce—H. Harrison, A. Birtwistle, F. Hodgkinson. Federation of Master Cotton Spinners—C. W. Macara, J. B. Tattersall, J. Ridyard, John Lees. Master Cotton Association, Limited—E. Stansfield, T. A. S. Hobson. United Cotton Manufacturers' Association—Tom Garnett. Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association—James Fletcher, F. Hardern. Operative Cotton Spinners' Association—T. Ashton, E. Mellor, Wm. Mullin. Fine Cotton Spinners' and Doublers' Association, Limited—two representatives. Burnley Chamber of Commerce—two representatives. Preston Cotton Spinners' Association—two representatives.

After discussion the following resolutions were passed unanimously :—

"(1) That in the opinion of this meeting the continued prosperity of the British cotton industry depends on an increased supply of cotton, and it is desirable that our sources of supply should be extended. (2) That in order to attain this end an association be formed, to be called the British Cotton Growing Association. (3) That its principal object be the extension

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of the growth and cultivation of cotton in British colonies, dependencies, and protectorates. (4) That a guarantee fund of £50,000 be raised, to be spread over five years, no guarantor being required to contribute more than one-fifth of his total guarantee in any one year. (5) That this association shall have power to form a subsidiary company or companies and to dispose of any of its assets to any company thus formed, on condition that subscribers to this association have the first option of taking up shares in any such company in proportion to their subscriptions. (6) That a general committee should be appointed. (7) That this general committee should appoint from their number members to form the executive committee. (8) That the executive committee shall immediately collect all the available information on the subject and despatch expert expeditions to report on the best methods of procedure, and shall have power to—(*a*) Acquire land on which to make experiments and to establish plantations; (*b*) distribute seed among the natives and to encourage them by advice and assistance to grow cotton on their own land, and to engage experts for this purpose if necessary; (*c*) establish stations to buy and sell cotton, or any of its by-products, animals, implements, or any other articles or goods necessary for the expeditions; (*d*) to adopt any other means that may suggest themselves from time to time to attain the object in view. (9) That the general committee issue a report once each half year of the work which has been done."

Under these circumstances it has been thought that the following paper will prove of interest to those who are concerned in the growth of cotton in British West Africa. It is the translation of an article which appeared in August 1901 in the "Journal d'Agriculture Tropicale" published in Paris. The writer is a skilled botanist, who has been specially employed by the French Colonial Office in missions to French West Africa for the purpose of ascertaining its agricultural resources; and who has now started for a further mission to the Chari.—[ED.]

THE RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY.

The rapid completion of the Railway from Senegambia to the Middle Niger, and the construction of that from Guinea to the Southern Soudan, will open up for colonisation a vast Empire long since pacified and explored in every direction. The Soudan, up to the present day, has only exported a little gold, some agricultural products such as rubber, gum bees-wax, and the gains of the chase, ivory and ornamental feathers. But this kind of exploitation cannot last indefinitely; it is already necessary to penetrate into the Interior of Senegambia over

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2,000 kilometres[1] from the Coast, to find rubber vines that have not yet been farmed, and it is only very rarely that herds of elephants are encountered on the confines of the forest of the Ivory Coast or in the Baoule. The development of Agriculture would create permanent sources of wealth.

Two-thirds of the Soudan consist of land with which nothing can be done. It is only in the valleys and on the alluvial plains that agricultural enterprise should be attempted, and even here there must be no illusion as to the number and the returns of the possible cultures.

Neither the cacao-tree, the coffee-tree, vanilla, nor spices could be cultivated, as the climate is too dry and the arborescent vegetation too thin.

Cattle (sheep, bullocks, goats) and the native edible plants (manioc, sorgho, rice, bananas, yams) are almost the only resources now existing in the country the production of which could be rapidly developed; but it is probable that for a long time to come they could not become articles of steady export from Africa.

The Ground-nut, Castor-Oil plant, and Sesame flourish well, but they are of low value and could not bear the cost of export.

As regards the cultivation of rubber and gutta percha, we are still in the experimental stage and it would be extremely imprudent to bind the future of a Colony to so doubtful a resource.

THE COTTON PLANT.

Like the Kola Plant, this plant seems to be the only one likely to prove remunerative to the European who can cultivate it in the Guinea Zone (Upper Ivory Coast and wooded regions of French Guinea). In fact the Cotton Plant is at present the only actual native culture which might be developed so as to furnish any considerable export trade from the Soudan proper (from 10 to 16 degrees Lat. N.).

The Cotton Plant was imported into Africa in very ancient times, but until a few years ago scarcely any efforts were made by Europeans to improve its cultivation, though the occupation of the Soudan began over three centuries ago.

[1] 2,000 kilometres = about 1243 miles.

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During the American Civil War, under the impulse given by General Faidherbe and the botanist Legard, the annual export reached 50 tons for several years, but when the effects of the War ceased to be felt, the cotton of Senegambia was no longer able to compete with that of North America. Its cultivation was universally abandoned.

THE ECONOMIC MISSION OF THE SOUDAN.

In 1898 General de Trentinian, Lieutenant Governor of the French Soudan, revived the study of this question on a large scale. An Economic Mission of the Soudan was organised in which no fewer than four specialists were charged with researches concerning the cultivation and farming of the Soudan cotton.

Mons. Jacquey, an Agriculturist already installed at the "Garden" at Kati, sowed several varieties of cotton seeds of Egypt and the United States, and himself supervised their cultivation.

Mons. E. Fossat, a Cotton-broker of large experience, delegated by the Chamber of Commerce of Havre, was charged with the commercial side of the question, and succeeded in collecting in the Middle Niger 70 tons of picked cotton still containing the seed, of which only a small quantity could be shipped to France. The Cotton Society of Saint Etienne du Vauvray spun 2,500 kilos[1] of cotton collected by Mons. Fossat which arrived at Havre in 1899; in their report they mentioned the fibre of the Soudanese cotton as having made the best impression on their Society, and asked for further supplies for their use.

Mons. Baillaud specially examined the native process of spinning, and recognised the possibility of setting up a small weaving industry in the Djenne region. He also brought back with him a very complete collection of goods woven in the Country, which was exhibited in 1900 at the Colonial Office.

In this Mission, I was entrusted with the study of Biological Questions relating to Cotton Plants, such as the botanical determination of various species, their geographical distribution, and their natural selection, etc.

By these researches, set on foot by General de Trentinian,

[1] 2 tons 9 cwt. 23½ lbs.

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it is now well established that the valley of the Middle Niger is admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton on a large scale. Its climate, irrigation, and the fine development of the most widespread native species, prove this beyond doubt.

SPECIES AND VARIETIES.

Four species of Gossypium are at present cultivated in Senegambia and French Soudan, but none of them are indigenous.

These species are—

1. The Gossypium Herbaceum L. probably the most ancient species known to the Natives who call it "the female Cotton Plant" ("N' dar Guine" in Wolof, "Coroni Moussa" in Bambara).

2. The Gossypium Barbadense L. (Var. Sea Island, G. Maritmum Tod. Var. Jumel or Mako, G. Maritmum Var. Jumelianum Tod, etc.) is of quite recent introduction into the Soudan, for the first seeds were distributed in 1896 and 1897. The Natives call it the "White-man's Cotton Plant" (Coroni Toubab in Bambara). This long-fibred species which gives such fine results in Louisiana and Egypt, has generally failed in West Africa. Perhaps it may be acclimatized in time in Senegambia, on the plains of Baol and Cayor near the sea where the dew is abundant. It also appears to thrive in the South of the Soudan where the rainy season lasts 6 to 7 months. In the North on the contrary and especially in the Middle Niger, it does not thrive and gives but little blossom. In short the climate is manifestly too dry and checks the development of this species, generally an annual, and of too rapid growth. Moreover at Sansanding most of the plants were destroyed by an invasion of caterpillars. The Natives also, to whom General de Trentinian had distributed seeds of the various varieties of Egypt, very quickly gave up its cultivation.

3. Sometimes in Senegambia near the Coast a very robust Cotton Plant is found. Its leaves are deeply cut, its petals are pale yellow showing a clear red spot on the white part of the leaf adherent to the cup. This plant is without doubt the Gossypium Religiosum L. It is an intermediate species between the Gossypium Barbadense L. and the Gossypium Hirsutum L.

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It appears to be a fixed hybrid, that is to say, reproducing itself by seed with the same characteristics. This Plant resembles very much the "hybrid Cotton Plant of the Niger," which we will deal with later on. The Gossypium Religiosum is a very rare species in Senegambia and is wholly absent in the Soudan. It would be perhaps interesting to endeavour to classify it. Our short stay in Senegambia did not allow of our studying it completely.

4. The Gossypium Punctatum Perr. The best known Cotton Plant all over Senegambia and the Soudan is the Gossypium Punctatum Perr (exclus. descript. and var. Acerifolia). It is a very vigorous African species of the Gossypium Hirsutum L. Sometimes it is fairly villous, sometimes completely glabrous. It is often found completely naturalised in the bush.

As this Plant is said to have come originally from America, it may probably have been carried to the Coast by the first Portuguese ships that crossed backwards and forwards between the New and the Old World, at the same time as manioc, ground nuts, tobacco, etc.

The seeds are of the size of a pea, they are of a green colour before maturing, becoming later yellow. The fibre is very adherent, generally white but sometimes reddish, and the wool is short, thick, ash coloured, and persistent.

The best plants produce annually from 30 to 50 pods which ripen in November and December, that is to say in the middle of the dry season ; a few other pods develope more slowly.

In the most favorable soil around San, Djenne, and Sumpi the fibre attains a length of 25 to 28 mm.[1] and is fairly regular. This is evidently caused by the more favorable climate and especially by the more perfected cultivation.

QUALITIES AND DEFECTS OF THE SOUDAN COTTON PLANT.

The Soudan Cotton Plant has real qualities which could be developed by a constant selection and by more perfect cultivation, as for instance the use of manures and irrigation of the plantations during the dry season. Its most appreciable advantages are the following :—

1. It is admirably adapted to the climate of the Country : in

[1] 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch.

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spite of the seven or eight months of drought which it has to suffer, and the small quantity of water it receives (from 15 inches to 31 inches per annum, perhaps more along the Middle Niger), it thrives vigorously in all the valleys and on plains irrigated in the winter season.

2. Robust bushes are in full bearing during two and three years and more.

3. The fibre attains in the most favorable places (for example, on the alluvial soil around Lake Sumpi) from 25 to 28 mm.[1] It is therefore an "average fibre" of current commercial dimensions.

4. The fibre is sufficiently resisting, at the same time neither too coarse nor too fine.

5. It is very white. Occasionally some Plants produce a reddish fibre valued by the Natives for making thread which is employed without being dyed to border or to mark their garments.

It appears that the Soudan Cotton is particularly suitable to become a substitute for Indian Cotton.

The two principal defects of the Soudan Cotton are:—

1. The want of uniformity in the length and quality of the fibre.

2. The very strong adherence of the wool to the tegument which makes the ginning laborious and causes the rupture of some of the fibres in this operation.

The first defect would disappear by careful cultivation, while the good qualities mentioned above would be strengthened. As regards the non-adherence of the wool fibres, this could be obtained by crossing the Gossypium Punctatum of the Soudan with a class of Gossypium Barbadense having non-adherent fibres.

HYBRIDATION AND ARTIFICIAL SELECTION—THE HYBRID COTTON PLANT OF THE NIGER.

Such crossings have already taken place naturally in the Experimental Gardens of the Soudan, where the native Cotton Plant and the American Cotton Plant (Sea Island) have been cultivated side by side. We noticed many of these hybrid

[1] 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{10}$ inch.

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forms in the Experimental Fields of Sansanding which were created by Fama Mademba. Most of these hybrids were already in their second generation. The most general form, which we will name the "Hybrid Cotton Plant of the Niger," shows an almost equal blending of the qualities of the parent plants.

The bushes of the Hybrid Cotton Plant of the Niger are semi-arborescent, showing almost the vigour of the Gossypium Punctatum. They have withstood the drought and the invasion of caterpillars which almost destroyed the Gossypium Barbadense in the Experimental Fields in 1899.

One only of the specimens under observation had long and fine fibres non-adherent to the tegument. All the others on the contrary showed by their flowers and by their pods most of the characteristics of the Gossypium Punctatum, especially the adherence of the fibres, and they only differed by the leaves and a red spot on the white part of the leaf adherent to the cup.

According to the laws brought to light by Mons. Hugo de Vries, the non-adherence of the fibre will in this case constitute the "recessive characteristic," which will gradually disappear in succeeding generations. It is easy to foresee that in the second generation, in every hundred descendants of the first hybrid there will only be 25 which will retain the characteristic non-adherent fibre of the Gossypium Barbadense. Therefore in order to improve the cotton of the Soudan it will be necessary to select from the 25 those which have preserved most of the good qualities of the Native Cotton Plant.

It will be necessary to take great care in their selection so as to prevent the return of the adherent fibre. It would also be necessary to try to obtain a maximum number of pods ripening together so as to facilitate gathering them.

THE FUTURE.

The future success of Senegambia and of the Soudan, and the prosperity of the Cotton Industry of France, depend on the efforts made in this direction. We must not shut our eyes to the fact that in its present state the Soudan Cotton cannot be

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exported commercially to Europe, even if there was a railway to carry it to the Coast; for it must not be forgotten that this Cotton is rarely quoted on our markets, and although Legard was able to obtain 1,000 Kilos [1] of unginned cotton per hectare [2] in 1863 at Richard Toll, in irrigated lands, the results are very small under actual native cultivation.

The best sorted out Soudan staple was quoted in Havre 40 frs. the 50 Kilos [3] in 1899. If the plants are 1m. 50 [4] apart a hectare would comprise 4356 plants, able to produce under the best existing conditions 20–30 pods per plant at the most, which would give 137–260 kilos of ginned cotton per hectare,[5] calculating 500 pods to 1 kilo [6] of fibre. We are far behind the results obtained in Egypt, where it appears they obtain 1000 pounds of ginned cotton per hectare.

Again, we must not forget that the carriage of a ton of ginned cotton from the Niger to Havre would cost, even with a railway to the Coast, 110–120 francs per ton.[7]

It should also be remembered that the improved varieties (in America and in Turkestan) give 33 per cent. of cotton in proportion to the total weight of their seed; now the pods of the native Cotton Plant at present only give in the Soudan 25 per cent. of cotton. Great efforts are still needed to make French West Africa a cotton exporting country. Nevertheless we believe that it is precisely the cultivation of cotton, along with the raising of cattle, that would insure agricultural prosperity through the whole extent of the Soudan.

The regions where the Cotton Plant could acquire a great development are particularly in Senegambia: Baol and Maritime Cayor, in the proximity of water; and in the Soudan, that region of the Niger that Mons. Camille Guy has so happily named the Mesopotamia of the Niger, which by its system of inundations, its fertility, and its climate, is in every way comparable to the Lower Nile.

In this latter Country, it would be possible at the present time to cultivate 250,000 hectares [8] with Cotton without any special system of irrigation. Estimating the return at only

[1] 2,204 lbs. [2] 1 hectare = 2 acres 1 r. 35 p. [3] £1 11*s.* 8*d.* the 110 lbs.
[4] 59 inches apart. [5] 301 lbs. to 572 lbs. per 2 acres 1 r. 35 p.
[6] 1 kilo = 2¼ lbs. [7] £4 7*s.* 3*d.* to £4 15*s.* 2*d.* per ton. [8] 965¾ sq. miles.

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200 francs per hectare,[1] which figure is far below the reality, it would mean an annual revenue of 50,000,000 francs,[2] and it could be made to yield this in very little time. This area could be trebled by constructing reservoirs along the course of the river at a normal height, where the water could accumulate during the winter season to be distributed afterwards over the plantations.

A few years of peace and assistance have sufficed for Senegambia to become and to continue the richest source of ground-nuts in the world; in like manner the Soudan with a few years of persevering effort would become the richest Cotton producing country of the world, capable of supplying the greater part of the French Markets.

A. CHEVALIER,

Botanist of the Colonial Laboratory of the Museum of Natural History.

APPENDIX.

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL ATTEMPTS TO CULTIVATE COTTON IN WEST AFRICA.

IT is more than a century and a half since Europe made her first endeavours to procure West African Cotton for her mills. The R.F. Labat advised the "Compagnie des Indes" to send French colonists to Senegambia for the purpose of cultivating cotton and tobacco. This project, developed in 1728 in the "Relation du Voyage de Brue," was not followed up. However 60 years later it was again introduced by the Swede Waldstrom, whose first attempt at Agricultural Cultivation at Cape Verde failed on account of the death of most of the emigrants who had accompanied him there.

On his return to Europe Waldstrom did not long remain idle. He laid before the House of Commons his scheme for the emancipation of the slaves and the social betterment of the natives by teaching them to cultivate the soil. His Lectures led to the foundation of the Colony of Sierra Leone, which in its origin was simply an experiment in agricultural colonisation.

Waldstrom relied especially on cotton to develope the agriculture of the Black Continent. He studied in a manufactory in Manchester the most simple means of spinning, with the intention of going out to Senegambia to make use of the cotton on the spot in the manufacture of native stuffs.

The troubled state of Europe during the French Revolution prevented his finding the means of carrying out his plan, and he died without return-

[1] Fr. 200 = £8. [2] £2,000,000.

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ing to Africa. Until the XIX Century the attempts by Europeans to cultivate cotton appear never to have gone farther than making plans. Since then serious efforts have been made on three occasions.

From 1817 to 1830 very important attempts were made. Colonel Schmaltz and Baron Roger, Governors of Senegambia during this period, greatly favored private enterprise. Bounties were in the beginning accorded to the cultivation of cotton, but after a first disappointment these bounties were withdrawn and were transferred to its export. In spite of this, the total export from Senegambia between 1820 and 1830 did not surpass 100 tons of ginned cotton.

There was great enthusiasm at the outset, when a Philanthropic Society started a Plantation at Cape Verde in 1820, and when the Government established Experimental Fields at Walo ; but there was an equally general abandonment of all efforts when Governor Brou officially proclaimed that cultivation of any sort was impossible in Senegambia. Perrottet explained this first failure by the scarcity of rain, the evil effects of the east wind, the want of fertility of the soil, and the high price of labour. He also concluded that it was impossible ever to cultivate Senegambia. We at present know how very much mistaken he was, at least as far as the ground-nut is concerned.

Documents of that period gathered from different Archives show that the cause of failure was far more serious. Most of the plantations were merely dishonest speculations, and the Government itself was guilty of gross carelessness. When in the Census Report of 1825 the Government stated that the Colony possessed 3,500,000 Cotton Plants, they carefully omitted to note that the Europeans cultivated these plants with no more care than did the Natives. These Colonists were not contented merely to leave their cotton plants uncultivated, but when the census was taken it was discovered that they broke off branches and stuck them in the soil to gain larger bounties, amounting to 10,000 francs per 200,000 plants, and 6,000 francs per 100,000 Plants. It was no longer the products of cultivation that enriched the Colonist, but the bounties and frauds. When the bounties were suppressed cultivation ceased.

From 1863 to 1868, during the American Civil War, Governor Faidherbe made a vigorous effort to develope again the cultivation of cotton in Senegambia. About 50 tons of cotton were exported during a few years, but again on this occasion the effort was too weak and with the close of the war the export ceased. Certain plantations of that time, for example that of the Missionaries of Saint Esprit, appear to have been conducted in a serious manner, but most of the plantations seem to have suffered from the "great dryness," "east winds," and the "ravages of the caterpillars."

Besides they only seem to have cultivated the native cotton plant with the foreign cotton plants: Louisiana, Sea Island, Jumel. Thos. Legard, who operated at Richard Toll, obtained by irrigation encouraging results. In regions where there was more rain, as in South Senegambia, similar results could have been obtained without irrigation. But it is always on the banks

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of the Senegal, close to the Sahara, that agricultural efforts have persistently been made in Senegambia.

In 1899, whilst General de Trentinian in the Soudan was superintending the interesting experiments we have already related, Mons. Perruchot was making experiments in the several Gardens of the Colony. In his Report published in the Exhibition Volume of 1900 he concluded that it was possible to acclimatize Egyptian Cotton Plants in Senegambia. "They have thrived fairly well in all soils, but silico-argilious soil is the most favorable. They resist the East Wind relatively well."

Unfortunately the epidemic of Fever in 1900 interrupted all these studies.

In conclusion, none of the attempts to cultivate cotton undertaken up to the present day in Africa have been made under conditions that would permit of arriving at a definite decision regarding its cultivation. It is a question to be taken up again experimentally from the very beginning.

(Signed) A. CHEVALIER.

PARIS, *1st May*, 1902.

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A NEGLECTED SOURCE OF LABOUR IN AFRICA

MANY years ago I was on the Staff at Capetown. It was in the early days of railway making, and a line was in process of construction between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown. The engineers in charge were much exercised by the conduct of some elephants, the last of great herds that formerly lived in the Knysna forest, and which were protected by the government. These elephants, probably under the influence of curiosity, pulled the newly-laid sleepers of the railway about and necessitated the work being done over again. Complaints were made to the government and, as the result, I received a letter from the permanent secretary asking me to form a party of officers and go and shoot the offending elephants.

In reply I said I had been in the habit of using elephants in India, that I looked on them as domestic animals, as much so as a horse, and in the same way that old associations would prevent my shooting a horse even in the wild state, neither did I care to shoot elephants. The only result, as his carcase was of no use, was to leave a ton of flesh to rot on the ground, and even if he had tusks I did not happen to want ivory.

Besides I had a certain respect for an animal that could live from 100 to 300 years if left alone. I said moreover that it was only right that a remnant of these animals should be protected in the Colony, and I did not care to have a hand in exterminating them; and I ended my letter by saying, instead of shooting these elephants why do not your government tame them and make them work on the railways?

I thought no more about the matter until I was surprised one day to receive a letter stating that the government had considered my answer and were inclined to think I was right, and would I

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tell them how the taming of elephants could be done and, if decided on, would I undertake it.

Nothing would, at that time, have pleased me better than such an occupation, and although I did not know how to do it, I knew where to go for assistance, and I wrote to say I would try it.

After some correspondence it appeared that some one had told them that the African elephant could not be tamed, a story which is still generally believed in England, just in the same way as it is still believed by successive generations that the ostrich, when pursued, sticks its head in a bush and, because it cannot see its pursuers, imagines that they cannot see it, and is consequently captured!

This knotty point with regard to elephants was referred to me, and as I was just starting for England I promised to write definite information from home.

Soon after my arrival I went to the Zoological Gardens in search of knowledge on the question. It was bank holiday, and I formed one of a party of city children to ride upon an elephant which carried us up and down the Gardens in the most exemplary manner and seemed to like the occupation. The great size, fan-shaped ears, and prominent nose proclaimed him unmistakably an African elephant, and it was none other than the great Jumbo, the same that nearly shook the ministry of the day by refusing to leave his home in the Gardens and his wife Alice, when he heard that he had been sold to Barnum to go to America. In spite, however, of numerous petitions which were displayed in the prominent shops in Piccadilly and elsewhere, and numerously signed by passers by, Jumbo in the end had to go, and some years later met with a tragic fate. He wandered out of his place of abode on to a railway track and was killed in a gallant endeavour to stop an express train with his head.

After my ride on Jumbo I wrote to the Cape to say that I could now add my personal testimony to that of Hannibal that African elephants could be tamed.

After all, the scheme fell through, not from any inherent difficulty but because the periodical mania for destruction which arises in that country as regularly as the Rinderpest, came on, and the Kaffir and Zulu wars had to be fought to a finish

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before there was time or money or thought for any scheme of peaceful progress.

Thus ended my hopes of becoming an elephant tamer, and the subject passed from my mind, to be however again temporarily awakened ten years later.

In 1888 I was in India in command of a regiment, and a guest of the Maharajah of Mysore at the week of festivities which takes place every year in the capital of his dominions.

To the west of the city of Mysore not more than 60 miles away are to be found splendid forests, and in these forests were, at the time of my visit, great numbers of wild elephants. It had been determined to capture a herd of these and all the arrangements had been completed, the enclosures in the forest built and Mr. Sanderson, the officer in charge of the government trapping establishment, the man who had reduced the business to a fine art, and who invented the method of catching them by herds at a time, was there with 40 tame elephants from Burmah. The capture was put off for as much as two months to enable the late Prince Victor, who had not yet arrived, to see it; and during all that time the herd of elephants walked daily through the enclosure to water.

At the appointed time the gates were let down in the presence of a distinguished company and the capture was effected. Two months later the full-grown wild elephants had become sufficiently tame to allow of their being sent by train to the various places to which they had been allotted.

Mr. Sanderson was a remarkable man, a very agreeable companion, and his conversation was most interesting. He had some peculiarities. One was a dislike to use quinine in any shape or form either for himself or his retainers. To most men who go into the great jungles of India, where fever always abounds, quinine is the first requisite.

When asked how he dealt with malaria he said he took an elaborate arrangement for making hot baths for himself and his native followers. As the latter numbered some hundreds his baths must have required a lot of transport. However he had great faith in them and gave no other medicine. Perhaps if he had lived longer it might have been more possible to share this faith.

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The meeting with him recalled my experiences at the Cape, and I told him how I had very nearly come to India to consult him as to how African elephants could best be caught. He did not believe for a moment that they could not be tamed, and he said he had no doubt the thing could be easily done.

He also told me that he had been offered a large salary by someone, I forget who—as much as £5,000 a year—to go to East Africa to catch elephants, but that he refused as he did not care to run the risk of a new kind of fever after having tried all those prevalent in India.

I then asked him if he would go to the Cape, which was a good climate, and commence with the protected herds there, if I could raise the subject again.

He said he would; and shortly after I came home and was just arranging to write to the Cape on the subject, when I heard the sad news of Sanderson's premature death.

The fates had evidently decreed that I should not become an elephant hunter, but the idea remains, and I pass it on to some young civil servant who may be tired of the tyranny of pens and ink and red tape, and may desire to exchange a desk for a free life in the forest, with all the excitement of a hunter's life, but which, instead of leaving merely destruction behind, will be spent in building up the means of opening up a new continent and conferring benefit on mankind.

Doubtless the idea will commend itself to Treasury officers, merchants, mine owners, and such like people, and the coming man will not want for money to work it.

The system in India has been brought to great perfection, the pay of the different grades of workers has been settled, trained elephants can be procured and the exact cost of operations can be calculated beforehand. The captured elephants as they come into work will much more than pay the expense.

Sanderson in his book *Thirteen Years amongst the Wila Beasts of India*, published in 1878 by W. H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place, says: "Amongst all created creatures the elephant stands unrivalled for gentleness. The most intelligent horse cannot be depended upon not to tread on his master's toes, and if terrified makes no hesitation in dashing away, even should he upset any one in so doing. But elephants, even

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huge tuskers whose heads are high in the air, and whose keepers are pigmies beside them, are so cautious that accidents very seldom occur through carelessness on their part," and again, "Real vice in any elephant is a thing almost unknown. Natives attach less importance than we do to the temper of elephants, all can be managed by some means." He states also in another place, "There are no elephants that cannot be easily subjugated whatever their size or age. The largest are frequently the most easily tamed as they are less apprehensive than the younger ones."

He informs us that on one occasion he and a Mahout mounted a female wild elephant, without the presence of a tame one, in six days after it had been captured.

Most other animals can be tamed and trained when taken young but the elephant alone can be quickly made to do what man requires of him after he has attained mature age.

They are practically by nature born to be domestic animals, and Africa is the place where they are most wanted and where they should be put to work without delay. There is plenty for them to do there before they are superseded by railways and made roads.

No one can see the elephants at work at Rangoon securing and piling into stacks the great logs of teak wood which are floated down the Irrawaddy River from the great forests of the interior, without forming a high opinion of their utility as workers. Day after day they work in the yards, pushing and pulling the logs and conveying them to the places where they are built up, with apparently human intelligence.

When required to drag huge weights a long rope fastened round the pad is used and they will put enormous energy into the business, leaning forward with their heads almost on the ground and kneeling to the strain. Lighter loads they move by means of a loop of rope round the log which they take in their teeth and half pull, half carry it on their tusks into its place.

Elephants can be harnessed to a cart like a horse. As pack animals, which is their general use, where there are no roads, they will carry an immense bulk and weight on their backs amongst hills and swamps where by no other means could the goods be transported. Over a fairly easy country an elephant

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will carry half a ton for continuous marching, but if the route be hilly the load should be reduced to seven hundredweight.

An elephant, especially, a light one, is a good mount, and is exceedingly active and sure-footed over bad ground; in fact they never stumble and can be managed and guided with the greatest ease. Quite young and small ones have been ridden as ponies with stirrups attached to the pads on their backs.

The best way to catch elephants is by driving a number of them into enclosures made for the purpose in the forest. Formerly they used to be caught in pits but this, which was a very cruel plan, resulted in such a large proportion of loss that it has fortunately been given up. For the purpose of catching herds the Government of India keep up regular hunting establishments. A hunting party consists of between 350 and 400 men whose rate of pay is all laid down, and varies from 25 rupees a month for the Jemader or head man to 7 rupees a month for the coolies. In addition to this pay free rations are issued consisting of two pounds of rice per diem and two pounds of salt fish chillies and salt per month. The value of the ration is about three rupees a month. The total cost of the party is about £380 a month.

A typical hunt is conducted somewhat as follows but every hunt develops features of its own.

When the scouts have found a herd, the larger the better, as it is just as easy to catch a considerable number at a time as a few, the whole party starts in pursuit. They are halted when within a mile of the herd, then half the number file off to the right and half to the left. Along these lines two men are left at every 50 yards and, when they have passed the herd, the lines incline towards each other so as to enclose the herd in a rough circle measuring about three miles in diameter. It is considered that when this circle is completed the herd never escapes except through gross carelessness.

All round the ring a thin fence of split bamboo is made which takes about two hours and, as the men will occupy their posts for a week or more, they build huts for themselves of branches of trees and at night keep up large fires and, should the elephants approach, make a great clatter and fire off guns.

Of course the ring is made where there is plenty of feeding

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for the elephants and after 24 hours and having been driven back once or twice, they do not as a rule try again to break out, but keep in the thick cover and are rarely seen.

The object of the thin fence is to show whether the elephants have broken out; if the fence is intact it is certain that they are still there.

The next proceeding is to build a small strong enclosure at a chosen spot within the slight fence and one man of each pair of sentries is taken for this work as soon as the elephants become quiet, leaving the other man on guard at his original post. The fence of this inside ring, which encloses a circle of about 50 yards in diameter, is formed of stout posts about 12 feet in height inside which a trench 4 feet wide and 4 feet deep is dug to prevent the elephants pressing against the stockade. As elephants keep strictly to beaten paths there is no difficulty in choosing a site across their usual walk, and little risk that the labour of making the stockade will be lost.

The entrance to this small enclosure is 4 yards in width, and a gate made very strong is studded inside with iron spikes. The gate is slung from a cross beam by ropes, and so arranged that the cutting of a single rope after the herd has entered causes it to drop into its place. From this gateway two lines of strong palisades are run out in the shape of a funnel for about 100 yards or so, and the further end of the funnel is about 50 yards across. The object of this is to guide the herd to the gateway when they are driven in.

All this construction takes four or five days to complete and must be finished before the drive takes place.

The original line enclosing the elephants consisted of two men posted at intervals of 50 yards. One of each pair of men is now taken and, commencing at the wings a second circle is made round the herd of elephants.

With a great noise the elephants are now started, and as they approach the funnel entrance, the outer ring closes in and they are forced towards the stockade which they generally enter without hesitation. The rope which holds the gate is cut enclosing them securely and the first scene is over. Tame elephants are then ridden into the enclosure and are used to separate the wild ones, when the men slip down and fasten a rope round the hind

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legs tying the two together and bringing the end of the rope to the tame elephant's back: another rope is also fastened round the neck of the captive and he is dragged out of the stockade by the tame elephant and securely made fast to a tree. The wild elephants being all thus secured two men are told off to feed and water them and they are thus kept till sufficiently tamed to be sent to their destinations.

This does not take long: they quickly give in when they have got over their fear. It is a curious fact that when the tame elephants are ridden into the stockade the wild ones never think of attacking the men on their backs. It is also curious that when finally tied up they never refuse to feed.

As an example of the profit made it is recorded that in India one particular catch consisted of 54 animals which when sold realized £3,754 and the total cost of the operations was £1,556 leaving a profit to the Government of £2,198.

Any one wishing to know more of this interesting subject should read Sanderson's book, which is also an excellent record of big game shooting in India.

J. G. B. STOPFORD.

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THE RELIGION OF THE FJORT OR FIOTE

"MAVUNGU"

THE religion of the Fiote or Bavili family of the Kingdom of Loango may be divided into four great parts, two of which may be classed as the spiritual parts and two as belonging to the natural division.

1. Bakici Baci, or the attributes of God on earth, including the King, made in His image, as the speaking I or the preacher.
2. Bilongo, or medicines.
3. Zinkauci Zi Bakici, fetishes into which nails are driven, used as deterrents, and made by Nganga, who places in them the "passion" required.
4. Bakici Bankondi, household gods or fetishes protecting villages houses or persons, such as charms, etc.

In the creation of the Zinkauci (the aboriginal hearer) Zi Bakici naturally predestined and necessitated the making of the Bakici Bankondi, and will as naturally disappear with them. It is to these two parts that witchcraft and all its fearful evils are attached.—Ndoxi-ism or witchcraft really means the poisoning of either the mind or the body of the sufferer, and with it may be connected forms of hypnotism, suggestion, and all domination by fear.

Mavungu of the town of Nganzi in Kakongo (Figs. 1, 2, 3), was one of the three most powerful Zi Nkauci in Kakongo, sharing the honour of keeping the country under the domination of fear with his compeers Mbiali-Mundembi and Mangaka (I am told that Mangaka was also transported to Europe, and may be found in the Manchester Museum).

These three with other 23 figures of men and animals

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form that class of fetish called Zinkauci Zi Bakici (which I should translate as the aboriginal negative or opposites of Nkici the aboriginal "λογος" or inherent speaking quality), and are wooden figures into which one or other of the passions of men have been put by certain Nganga (priests, medicine men, or feticheurs). They are the fear inspirers. A wishes to harm B, and so goes to the Nganga or priest, and pays him to hammer a nail or knife or other sharp-pointed instrument into the figure. Or C wishing to be cured of some bad habit allows D to have a nail driven into it. Should D break his promise the fetish causes him and his family endless sickness and trouble and death—so that D has to search out the fetish and pay the surgeon to extract the nail driven in by order of C. Or B and his family begin for some unaccountable reason to suffer sickness, etc., and so seek out a "diviner" to tell him what "fetish" it is that is bothering him and his family. The diviner tells him and B has to search out the Nganga and pay him to draw out the nail driven into the fetish by A.

To give you the history of Mavungu is of course impossible, but a long tale of misery hangs on every instrument hammered into him, and the hundreds of those that have been withdrawn.

Nganga Nganzi is now dead, and Mavungu was seized by the Portuguese Government, who in the early '90's fairly raided the country for these figures. Mavungu became the spoil of the Secretary Illus^mo^ Senr. Josè Chichorro, of Cabinda, and was given to Miss Kingsley by his family.

The three great fetishes appear to me to have represented the three great passions connected with Paternity (mkiali mundenchi), Maternity (mavungu) and Reason (Mangaka), but all systematic connection between the fetishes and the passions has long been lost sight of, and all the natives care about is its "fama" or reputed power of working evil.

One of the great "charms" of Mavungu was that when the Nganga rubbed his hands the figure became invisible to those that sought for it. One had to pay ever so much, therefore, to get at it once a nail had been driven into it.

The word Mavungu is not only connected with the idea of reason and maternity, but also with the idea of a covering, hence perhaps invisibility.

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In Kakongo the lower extremities of the figure were covered with a piece of native grass cloth or blue baft. This apparently has been lost, the rounded piece of wood near to the feet is probably the haft of a native knife, which found a place in the circular cavity formed by the fingers and thumb of the right hand.[1]

R. E. DENNETT.

[1] Miss Kingsley believed this to be the only fetish figure in England, perhaps in Europe, which still had its "power" on it. The "power" is held in a band round the neck chiefly or wholly formed of coagulated human blood. If this were taken away the figure would be like any other bit of wood.—[ED.]

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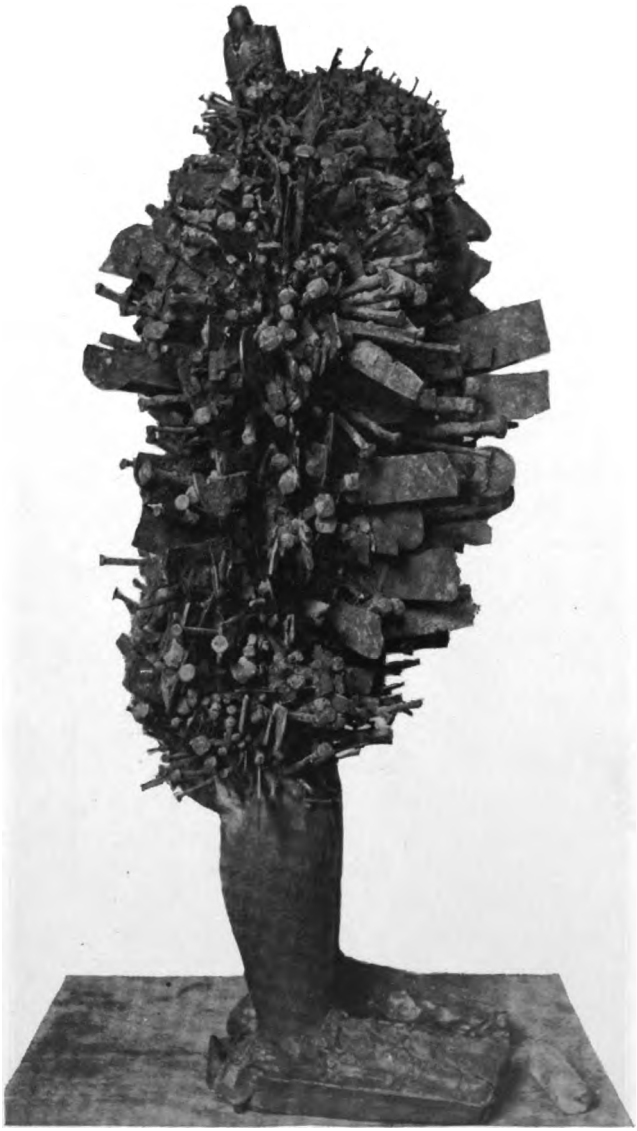

MAVUNGU. Fig. 3.

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TRIBAL OWNERSHIP OF LAND

WE have great pleasure in publishing the following letter and trust that we may be favoured by others of our readers who are interested in the very important problem of "Land Tenures in West Africa" with their views on the questions raised by our correspondent. In the meantime we publish a reprint of a judgment of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Lagos in which some of the leading principles of native land tenure in the Yoruba country are discussed. The judgment is based upon the evidence of many of the leading native chiefs who are entrusted according to native law with the distribution of land, and may be regarded as an authoritative exposition of the native law and custom as affecting the matters dealt with. We would also refer our correspondent to the paper contributed to this journal by M. Clozel, Colonial Secretary of the French Colony of the Ivory Coast which is replete with valuable and interesting observations on native land tenure in the countries extending from the boundaries of the Gold Coast Colony on the east to Liberia on the west.

We earnestly desire to promote and encourage a systematic study of the Native law on this question both in the interests of the natives themselves and as a help to those entrusted with their government and control.

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

OXFORD, 31 *May*, 1902.

DEAR SIR,—I should be glad if any of your readers could inform me what is the exact meaning of the so-called tribal ownership of land in parts of West Africa. On p. 313 of the *Journal* we read: "There is not one foot of

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land that is not claimed or possessed by some tribe or other," and again on p. 318: "All land and all forests are the property of the particular tribe, but are vested in the King and chiefs of the tribe," while Sir R. Moor has recently stated that most of the land in Southern Nigeria is tribal property (see *West Africa*, May 17, 1902, p. 520).

I presume, however, that these expressions mean nothing more than that the greater part, or even the whole, of the Yoruba country and Southern Nigeria is divided out among several tribes whose spheres of influence are, at the present day, definitely fixed, and that the so-called ownership is merely political sovereignty.

This appears to me to be the necessary conclusion from the fact of the apparently slight development of the doctrine of individual property in W. Africa. To be able to regard a tribe as owner requires a good deal of legal development of ideas, and a power of understanding legal fictions which it appears impossible to ascribe to West African natives. The sense in which a Yoruba tribe owns its land is, I imagine, the same as that in which the English own England.

The real ownership of land, therefore, appears to be that of individuals. This is *a priori* to be expected, because ownership arises first from the ownership of moveables, and it is impossible to prove that such ownership can be other than individual. But with all early peoples the concept of ownership is strictly limited by the political rights of the tribe, and from this fact comes the inability to sell one's land, which is recorded also of Sparta, and which appears to survive in the Roman *mancipium* where the witnesses of the sale presumably are the relics of the old procedure, by which the assent of the tribe was necessary for the validity of any sale.

Naturally in the case of those tribes where the chief, the elected head and representative of the tribe, grows in power, he is the person consulted (see p. 313 of the *Journal*) by the member of the tribe desirous of taking up new land, but a trace of the fact that it is the people as a political sovereign which determines the grant originally, appears to survive in the fact that in Lagos chiefs are said in several cases to be unable to alienate the land of the tribe to strangers without the consent of the people as a whole, or as represented by the Chief's council.

Naturally, however, as the chief's consent is necessary to any occupation of land, the idea grows up that the chief is the owner of the land as a whole. This is the source of the legal maxim in England that all land to which no one can make good his title belongs to the King, and it would be interesting to know whether this view has yet sprung into being in West Africa.

The question of ownership is so important, and the analogies of the West African system to the early English mode of land-holding are, if the view here taken is correct, so striking, that a confirmation or refutation of it would, I think, be of great interest to all students of land tenures.

I am, etc.,

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE COLONY OF LAGOS.

AJOSE—heir at law of Ladega Ashogbon substituted as Plaintiff for Ladega Ashogbon by Order 27th June, 1892. *Plaintiff.*

V

THE QUEEN'S ADVOCATE
EFUNDE and
MASHASHU,
SOGBARO,
KUTI,
ADJAIE.
} Joined by Order 9th December, 1891.

Defendants.

JUDGMENT,

delivered, July 14th, 1892.

The plaintiff claims by Petition of Right, as heir at law of one Faji, a slave of Ashogbon Oda his predecessor in title, for the revocation of a Crown Grant dated 21st February, 1868, to one Jacob Ogubiyi, of certain land at Faji Lagos.

Since the action originated in October, 1891, the plaintiff died, and Ajose his heir according to native law, has been substituted as plaintiff.

It is admitted that Ogubiyi occupied the land for many years previous to the grant in question, but it is alleged that he was originally placed in possession of the said land by Odunran Ashogbon, the predecessor in title of the plaintiff on the decease without heirs of one Faji a slave of Odunran as "care taker," and that he obtained the said Crown Grant without the knowledge of the said Odunran Ashogbon, in whom alone the right to grant the land was vested, and that no proper investigation into the claims of the said Ogubiyi having been made by the Government with the knowledge of the said Odunran Ashogbon, the grant was bad. It is further claimed that the plaintiff is entitled to the land as heir at law of the said Faji deceased.

The defendant Efunde, a sister of Jacob Ogubiyi, claims to be entitled to the land under a deed of gift from Ogubiyi, dated February 11, 1869. The Queen's Advocate disclaims all interest in the issue and appears in the case only *pro formâ.*

It will be useful to recapitulate the facts as disclosed in the evidence.

Faji was a slave purchased by Ashogbon Oda, who lived in the time of Oshilokun King of Lagos about 1780. He died about 1850 in the time of Kosoko. Jacob Ogubiyi the grantee was bought by Ashogbon Oda in the time of Idewu Ojulari (1819) as a slave, but was shortly afterwards redeemed by his parents, and chose of his own free will to remain with the Ashogbon. Ogubiyi was formally put in possession of the land occupied by Faji, upon the death of Faji, with the sanction of Ashogbon Oda, and seems to have taken

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charge of the people of Faji who were living on the land at the time, in accordance with the custom of the country, and buried those who died. A portion of this land was subsequently granted by Ogubiyi to Daniel Conrad Taiwo, and this grant was confirmed by Ashogbon Odunran, in accordance with native custom and law. Taiwo subsequently obtained a Crown Grant for this portion, and Ogubiyi received land from Taiwo, in exchange for the portion of land granted by him.

It is not disputed that Ogubiyi remained in possession of the residue of this land from 1850 to 1886, when he died. It therefore becomes important to ascertain (1) what were the extent and nature of his rights of property in this land under the native law previous to 1861 the date of the Cession of Lagos to the British Government, and (2) what change, if any, was brought about by the Cession, and to what extent those rights were affected thereby.

The absolute ownership of territory has never, so far as my experience teaches me, been acknowledged in this Yoruba land as inherent in the sovereignty of the kings of the country, but there is undoubtedly a national proprietary right which is vested in the king and his chiefs or council, as representing the community who elect and appoint them originally, and who conjointly may exercise the right of alienation. The titles of king and chief descend generally according to the native law of inheritance but not necessarily. The chiefs as a body with their king can depose a chief, as the chiefs may depose a king. It is unnecessary to enquire closely into the methods adopted, suffice it that they are generally summary and effective. The white capped chiefs who are charged by the king and the community with the disposal of land have each allotted to them a portion of territory within which they might exercise their powers. These powers are described by the white capped chief Faro in his evidence. Faro was made a white capped chief in the time of King Adele of Lagos (183-234); he was chief of Ojora and was deposed by Governor Glover in 1864, for attempting to enforce his control over land, contrary to the established law. He states that he is now a white capped chief of Lagos. He says: "The white capped chiefs have the power to dispose of land. They cannot sell land, no chief could sell land. If land is given to a man and he builds on it a house, he could not be turned out if he did not do anything wrong (that is to say, for example, if he took the wife of a chief or tried to poison the chief who gave him the land). If he died and left no heir, but had slaves living on the land, the slaves could not have authority over the land. The chiefs would give some one else authority over the land and the slaves, and the land would descend in the same way as before, subject only to good conduct. The slaves who live on the land, as long as they live in the house, may live there, but they have no rights as against their master or his family, and might be turned out if they misbehaved."

The foregoing is a crude but tolerably accurate statement of the native law. As a rule the tenure of land among this people represented merely the right to the beneficial use of the land, subject to the obligation of service to the chief who granted it, or the payment of tribute as the case may be. The

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chief could neither alienate the land nor dispossess the grantee, so long as these obligations were fulfilled. Should the grantee cease to cultivate the land, or abandon it, all his rights therein were determined, and the chief could re-grant the land (Woodcock, A. P. J. judgment in Callamand *v.* Vaughan, June 20, 1878 *post.*)

In the event of the occupier dying without heirs, the chief had the power to grant the land afresh, subject to the obligations with which the land may have been burdened or charged, during the time of his predecessors. Such was the position of Ogubiyi, when this land was granted to him by Ashogbon Odunran in 1850. There is no alternative or other tenure, such as that of "care taker" mentioned in the Petition, known to the native law, and there is no evidence to support such a contention. How then were these rights affected by the Cession of Lagos? Under the treaty of August 6, 1861, between Docemo and his chiefs and the British Government, Docemo with the consent and advice of his council, gave, transferred, granted and confirmed unto the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors, for ever, the port and island of Lagos, with all the rights, profits, territories and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging; and as well as the profits and revenue as the direct, full and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the said port, island, and premises, with all the royalties thereof, freely, fully, entirely and absolutely.

The rights of sovereignty of the King and Chiefs of Lagos over the territory of Lagos and its dependencies, were by that treaty ceded to the Queen, and if Ogubiyi had died, subsequently to 1861 *without heirs*, the land would have reverted not to the chiefs as formerly, but to the Queen. The rights of the chiefs (except so far as those rights were private acquired rights) to dispose of land, or dispossess those who occupied land, under a good title by native law, usage or custom, then and there ceased to exist, and the rights of such occupiers became, if they were not then, in fact vested, simultaneously with the abolition of slavery.

It must not be supposed that every description of tenure by service is included in this proposition. I have repeatedly affirmed by judgments in this Court, the rights of private owners of land to recover possession thereof where there is a tenure by service, or by rent or tribute, and the service (being a lawful service S. 19. S.C.O. 1876), rent or tribute is refused by the tenant, and when such a tenant deliberately applies himself to injure or annoy his chief or his family.

Further, there are usages and customs relating to the conditions under which land may be used or occupied, peculiar to certain localities; to which I need only refer in passing. (See judgment of Marshall, J. in Idewu *v.* Ogubiyi, May 9, 1878, *post.*)

If the rights of the Ogubiyi were vested rights in 1861, he had surely a right to claim a Crown Grant in 1868 after a peaceful occupation, as of right, of thirty years and upwards. With respect to the circumstances under which these Crown Grants were applied for and obtained, the plaintiff's witness Ijagbo states: "I told Ashogbon Odunran that I wanted a grant, and he told

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me to go and get one. He said, 'You can go and get a grant and measure it, but all is mine.' I have the grant and have kept it since I got it. I did not show him the grant. All of us at Faji took grants in Governor Glover's time, and in our own names, but some grants were taken in the Ashogbon's name, who knew what was being done. Ogubiyi was in the same position as I and the others."

The natural presumption is, at this distance of time, that the Ashogbon was fully aware of, and acquiesced in the issuing of these grants, and this presumption has not been displaced by any positive evidence. But whether the Ashogbon was, or was not aware of the application seems to me immaterial inasmuch as in view of the vested interests of Ogubiyi under the native law, the Ashogbon would have no right to object to the issue of the Crown Grant, which was merely the formal recognition by the Crown, of rights already acquired by the grantee, and *a fortiori* the slaves of Faji, would have had no such right. Neither can it be said that in any sense since 1861, was the Ashogbon the heir at law of the descendants of a man who was previously his slave. If such a contention were to receive any countenance or support from this tribunal there would be no security of title to a very large portion of the land in Lagos. There would be no finality possible, if after upwards of 30 years' occupation of land by a man and his heirs, he could be disturbed by reference to the shadowy claims of the Ashogbon, or white capped chiefs of Lagos, whose functions and powers as regards public land, ceased to exist in 1861, when, as I have already stated, the rights of occupiers became vested rights.

The plaintiff further concedes that Efunde the present defendant, would still have the right to live on the land, even should the grant be revoked. And I must add, that not only Efunde, but those others, who in 1861 had acquired the right to live on the land, and have since done so, also by native law, usage and custom, retain their right. In this view Efunde herself and her co-defendants concur. The house is in fact a "family house" in which Efunde merely has a life interest, with a reversion to those already found by an enquiry in Chambers, December 4, 1891, to be entitled thereto, under the provisions of the deed of gift referred to.

I find, therefore, that upon none of the grounds urged in this petition, is the plaintiff entitled to a revocation of the Crown Grant to Jacob Ogubiyi dated 21st February, 1868, and referred to in the 4th paragraph of the petition. I therefore dismiss the petition with costs.

SMALMAN SMITH.
Chief Justice.

APPENDIX.

(*a*) The lands at Ebutemetta are unquestionably a part of the Territory which was ceded to the Crown, by the Treaty of the 6th of August, 1861, they being at that time a part of the settlement at Lagos. * * *

The rights of the Governor to deal with land or with anything else

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pertaining to the Crown, must be derived from the powers which are vested in him by the Crown. * * * * * *

The Defendants holding under the chiefs of Ottoh, held subject to the conditions, usages and customs which attach themselves to land, under native law and custom. One of these seems to be, that permission to occupy ceases, on the party to whom it is granted, ceasing to use the land. Now Mr. Justice Marshall has found that before permission to occupy was given to Monsieur Callamand, Vaughan and Jones had abandoned their farms, and this is the all-important question of fact in the case; that being so then in accordance with the native law, they cease to have any right therein. (By Woodcock, A. P. J., in Callamand *v.* Vaughan, June 20, 1878.)

(*b*) Before the Cession, if the King of Lagos wanted to give land to any person in that district (Ottoh) he would send to the chief to say that he wanted land in that part for the person, and the chief would give it to him: The chief could not say that he had no land to give the King. The chief dare not refuse. (Finding of Assessors in Callamand *v.* Vaughan, April 5, 1878.)

(*c*) It has been abundantly proved that the law that exists in the Protectorate of Lagos is that the Chief or Balé of the district has the sole power to make grants of land. This is most certainly the law at Amowoo and it is one of those laws of the country which this court will always observe and enforce the observance of, subject to the rights of the Governors of the Colony. I quite agree with the Assessors in thinking it has also been proved that the custom at Amowoo in making grants of land is that the use of the palm trees except for domestic purposes is reserved to the natives of the place, and that when land is given to a stranger it is on the condition that he does not in any way interfere with this right of the natives. I see no reason why the observance of this custom should not when necessary be enforced by this Court. (per Marshall J. Idewu *v.* Ogunbiyi May 9, 1879.)

[ED.]

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LITERARY NOTES

The Uganda Protectorate, by Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., Gold Medallist Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Gold Medallist Zoological Society, formerly Special Commissioner to the Uganda Protectorate, etc., etc. In two vols., with numerous illustrations and maps. (London: Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row. 1902.)

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON has just published his great work on the Uganda Protectorate. Two large volumes profusely illustrated, containing elaborate and detailed description of the Zoological and Botanical features of the country and the characteristics of the various peoples who inhabit it, particularly the Pigmies and Forest Tribes, furnish food of the most attractive kind, not only for the scientific student, but for the general public. Time will not permit us to do more than briefly draw attention to this elaborate record of many years of patient study and observation, but we hope to deal with this work more at length at a future date, after a more careful perusal of its contents.

Journal d'Agriculture tropicale. Publié par J. Vilbouchevitch, 10, rue Delambre, Paris. Abonnements: un an, 20 fr.—6 mois, 10 fr.

Aperçu du contenu du n° 12 (30 *juin*, 1902).—Le chanvre de Maurice.—Opuntias utiles et nuisibles.—Canne à sucre et bouillie bordelaise.—Les huileries de coco modernes.—Moissonneuses à riz.—Sols tropicaux.—Culture du teck.—Culture rémunératrice du camphre.—Articles et informations agricoles concernant la banane, la vanille, la ramie, le thé, le coton, le caoutchouc, la balata, le cacao.—Contributions inédites de MM. Bonâme (Maurice), Carié (Maurice), Couturier (Paris), Dr Delacroix (Paris), van Gorkom (Hollande), Hamel Smith (Londres), Hecht (Paris), d'Hérelle (Guatémala), Judge (Calcutta), Karpelès (Calcutta), Main (Paris), Rivière (Alger), Tabel (Sumatra), Dr Weber (Paris).

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FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Note.—Owing to the arrangements for the Coronation and the consequent pressure of competing engagements this summer, it was thought better to defer the usual Presidential address till the autumn, and only to transact the most necessary business of the Society at this meeting. The President's address will be therefore delivered at the opening of the Autumn Session.

THE First Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held at 22, Albemarle Street, W., on Tuesday, July 8th, at 3.30 p.m., the Most Hon. The Marquess of Ripon, K.G., in the Chair.

Among those present were Mr. J. T. Alldridge, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., The Hon. J. H. Batty, Mrs. Roy Batty, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A., Mr. H. R. Fox-Bourne, Lady Brunton, The Count de Cardi, Mr. Walrond B. Clarke, Mr. Cyril Eade, Mrs. J. R. Green, Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., Rear-Admiral G. W. Hand, Sir William Quayle Jones, The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E., Mr. Robert Sewell, Sir John Smalman Smith, Colonel J. G. B. Stopford, Mr. F. Swanzy, Mr. C. D. Turton, Mr. C. T. Hagberg Wright, LL.D.

The Count de Cardi, Hon. Secretary, read the Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting held June 27th, 1901.

LORD RIPON :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, according to the paper before me, I have a somewhat unusual duty to perform. People are not often asked to nominate their successors—this is usually associated with hereditary monarchies. Here, however, it is not an hereditary monarchy. I have to propose the election of a President for the next year, and I want to submit to you the name of one who is very well known, namely, Lord Avebury (applause), better known still by his old name of Sir John Lubbock. I think that it may be said of Lord Avebury that there is nothing worth knowing that he does not know. He has distinguished himself as an excellent writer, as a financier, as a scientific man, and he has also taken a large and intelligent

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interest in public affairs. His researches have brought him into close touch with many important questions in the sphere in which you are specially interested, therefore I do not think that your choice could have fallen upon one more suited to fill the office of President of this Society than my noble friend Lord Avebury. I am sure that you could not make a better selection, and I have therefore much pleasure in proposing that Lord Avebury be elected President of the Society for the coming year.

SIR ALFRED LYALL :—

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I have great pleasure in seconding this motion.

Lord Avebury is not only a distinguished man of science, but he has had experience in the work of Societies and Institutions such as this, which leads us to expect that the Society will benefit greatly from Lord Avebury's Presidency. I am exceedingly glad that he has consented to serve.

Lord Ripon then put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried unanimously.

LORD RIPON :—I see that I have to move the next resolution also. In doing this I have to propose myself for office, but as I have long ago parted with any modesty which I possessed in my youthful days, I have no hesitation in proposing the election of the Council.

I may remark that since the list before me was printed H.M. Government has been pleased to confer additional honours upon two of those named in it. Viscount Cromer has now become Earl Cromer; and my good friend Sir Alfred Lyall, whom I see sitting behind me, has been very highly honoured in being made a member of H.M. Most Honourable Privy Council.

Lord Ripon then read the list of Vice-Presidents, Council, and Honorary Officers.

MR. C. T. HAGBERG WRIGHT :—I have much pleasure in seconding this motion.

The motion was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

LORD RIPON :—I have yet another resolution to propose. I did not know that I was to move this resolution, so I have not spent the morning in getting up arguments in favour of it, as I might have done if I had had longer notice. I can only say that I believe it has been agreed upon by the Council. It is, I

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understand, only a matter of procedure. It is thought better that the Council should have the duty entrusted to it of nominating the President, than that he should be elected by the whole body of members as you have done to-day. A good reason for entrusting the selection to the Officers of the Society immediately occurs to me. It is obvious that in the case of a distinguished man—a man in the position of Lord Avebury—the Council must first approach him to ascertain whether he is willing to serve. It will be evident to the meeting that if, after a distinguished man should have given his consent, it should happen that the members did not elect him, the position would be very embarrassing. Therefore I would recommend the adoption of the amendment.

MR. WALROND B. CLARKE:—Does this apply to the President only or to all the officers?

LORD RIPON: Only to the President.

SIR J. SMALMAN SMITH:—I have the pleasure of seconding this motion. Your Lordship has given the real reason and the only reason why the Council have proposed this amendment. As your Lordship has remarked, it is merely a matter of procedure. It is advisable for the reasons stated that those who are at the head of affairs should be allowed to nominate the President rather than that he should be elected by the body of members.

Lord Ripon then put the motion to the meeting and it was carried unanimously.

The Count de Cardi, Hon. Secretary, then read his Report and the Report by Mr. C. D. Turton on the accounts and also the Balance Sheet.

MR. R. SEWELL:—May I ask how many members there are?

COUNT DE CARDI:—335.

SIR W. QUAYLE JONES:—I beg to move that the Accounts and Reports be received and passed.

MR. SWANZY:—I beg to second that motion.

The motion was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

SIR ALFRED LYALL:—I have some hesitation in coming forward to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Ripon, as I had the honour of proposing a vote of thanks to him at the Inaugural Meeting a year ago for consenting to be our first President. The

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Society is now fairly afloat and we are greatly indebted to Lord Ripon for having given it his support through all the early stages of a newly started Society. I have great pleasure in moving that a hearty vote of thanks be given to the retiring President.

SIR J. SMALMAN SMITH:—I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the President of the Society for the work his Lordship has done during the past year. It often occurs in a Society of this kind that there are delicate and difficult matters to deal with. In a Society such as this we feel grateful indeed, therefore, to our President for the tact which he invariably showed in settling our little difficulties. These are matters which make the Council feel truly thankful for what Lord Ripon has done, for the help and guidance he has afforded us as President of the Society.

Carried with acclamation.

LORD RIPON:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I have to thank you for the vote of thanks to which you have given your assent. Any help I have been able to afford the Council has been given with great willingness and pleasure, but I must say that I have been given a credit which does not fairly belong to me. You must not take up from the remarks of the seconder that I have had continually to step in and settle the quarrels of the Council (laughter). I have never been called upon to exercise my powers of diplomacy in this Society. In fact I may say that the proceedings of the Society have throughout been marked by the most absolute unanimity and good feeling; and that my diplomatic gifts, if I possess any, have never been put into requisition. I am glad that the Society has progressed in so satisfactory a manner. I think that the best proof of the condition of the Society is to be found in the Report which has just been read. It has been a great pleasure to me to hear that Report. It shows that the Society has made great progress during the year and I think we may say that this satisfactory progress has been the result of the efforts put forth by those who do the work of the Society. The Society owes them a debt of gratitude. As an example of the interest shown in the Society, I am told that the Foreign Office recently wrote asking for a plan which appeared in the Journal and that Office has since shown its appreciation of the help afforded by becoming an annual subscriber. We know that Government Offices, such as the Foreign Office or the Colonial Office, are not too ready to acknowledge the work done by those outside them, and we may therefore consider this a high mark of appreciation. In retiring from the Presidency of

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the Society I am glad that it is in so satisfactory a position and that I am resigning the office into the hands of one so well fitted to fill it. I have only to offer the Society my warm congratulations and good wishes.

MR. SWANZY:—I beg to move a sincere vote of thanks to the Honorary Officers who have done so much for the success of the Society. You have read the excellent Journals which have been published and I am sure we must feel a considerable debt of gratitude to the Honorary Officers for the work they have done, especially at a time when it was of the utmost importance that the Society should make a good start. In proposing this vote of thanks, I think we should include the name of Mrs. J. R. Green who has been indefatigable in her efforts in the interests of the Society. She feels that a Society of this kind is wanted and that it is one that is calculated to do good work. I am sure that you will all agree in according a hearty vote of thanks to the Honorary Officers and Mrs. Green who have given so much time and labour to the work of the Society.

SIR WILLIAM QUAYLE JONES seconded the motion.

Lord Ripon then put the motion and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. R. Sewell then rose to make suggestions as to the constitution of the Council.

The President observed that to be in order notice should be given.

The meeting then broke up.

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REPORT BY THE HON. SECRETARY OF THE YEAR'S WORKING

AFRICAN SOCIETY,
22 ALBEMARLE STREET.

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This Society held its Inaugural Meeting on June 27th, 1901.

The Society then numbered 178 members, to-day our Society consists of 335 members, or nearly double the number we started with, and we are almost daily receiving applications for membership from all parts of Africa.

The balance sheet, which I will now read, extends actually over a period of more than eighteen months. I may here mention that our permanent expenses are very light, and that nearly all the money is expended on the production of our quarterly Journal and in furthering the ends for which the Society was founded.

The permanent expenses are as follows:—

Assistant Secretary	£52	0	0	per ann.
Rent of Office in this building ...	50	0	0	„

We have no paid Secretary or other official, but we pay for some of the articles we publish in the Society's Journal.

The sum which we show as standing to the credit of the Society on March 31, 1902, represents the actual state of our finances at that time, but a number of our members had not then paid their 1902 subscriptions; I have therefore not entered these unpaid subscriptions as an asset of the Society. I am pleased, however, to inform you that the major portion of the unpaid subscriptions have since been received, and that they

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will appear in the next balance sheet. When I mention that some of these members live in the interior of Africa, it will be easily understood that considerable difficulty is experienced in getting the subscriptions all paid up to the due date.

LIBRARY.—During the year that has passed, we have received many presents of books for our Library, which is growing, but is still, of course, very limited in extent. We are not spending any money on the Library at present, as we hope that as the Society becomes more known, and the value of its work more appreciated, some of our wealthy members will see that the Library is fully equipped with those books of reference which may be considered absolutely necessary. It is our desire to make our Journal the best and most reliable book of reference on all African subjects.

Three Journals have been published during the year, and the fourth number, which will contain matter of great value and exceptional interest, is now in the hands of the printers.

It is with deep regret that we have had to record the deaths during the past year of three of our most esteemed and distinguished members:—

Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., C.B., G.C.M.G.

Sir Sydney Shippard, K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S.

The Right Hon. Sir Richard Temple, P.C., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.

They were three of the original members of the first Committee formed in the year 1900 for the purpose of founding the "African Society," which owes to them an everlasting debt of gratitude for their very energetic and cordial support at all times, and for the great interest they took in its successful progress.

I have the pleasure to inform the members that the Society is in intimate relations, and exchanges publications with, most of the Scientific Societies of Europe which are particularly interested in the study of African questions. Also with the Colonial Offices of France, Germany, and America.

In conclusion, the following arrangements have been made so far for the session 1902–1903.

The Right Hon. Lord Avebury, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., D.L., will open the session with an address either late in October or early in November.

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Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., has promised to address the members some time in November.

Mrs. George Babington Michell, who has lately returned from Tunis, will read a paper, written by her husband, upon the Berber Tribes of North Africa, in the preparation of which she has greatly assisted him.

The dates and particulars of these meetings when settled will be duly notified to the members of the Society in the usual way.

C. DE CARDI,
Hon. Sec.

I will now read the Hon. Librarian's Report on the financial position of the Society :—

8 KING'S BENCH WALK, TEMPLE,
7 July, 1902.

SIR,—I have much pleasure in placing before you the accounts of the "Mary Kingsley Fund" and the "African Society," which have this day been passed by Admiral Hand and Cyril Eade, Esquire, the Hon. Auditors of the Society.

2. As you are aware, the parent Society was named the "Mary Kingsley Fund." The accounts of that Fund commenced on the 3rd August, 1900, and on the 7th March, 1901, it was decided to change the name into that of the "African Society," and to transfer the balance on that date, to the credit of the Fund, to the latter Society, thus closing the Fund account.

3. It would, I feel, be satisfactory to you were I, before proceeding to the Society's accounts, to furnish you with the financial condition of the "Mary Kingsley Fund" on the 7th March, 1901, as it will enable you to form some idea of the great work which Mrs. Green and her colleagues had done up to then.

4. The receipts to the 7th March, 1901, a period of a few days over seven months, amounted to the large sum of £700 3*s.* 6*d.* The payments in the same period came to £31 7*s.* 11*d.*, and a further sum of £500 was transferred from the current account with the London and County Bank to a deposit account in the same bank. The balance to the credit of the Fund on the 8th March, 1901, was £168 15s. 7*d.* on the

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current account, and £500 on the deposit account, making a total of £668 15*s.* 7*d.*

5. Leaving this Fund for the present, I will now deal with the account of the African Society. The intention, I understand, was to transfer the whole of the above-mentioned £668 15*s.* 7*d.* to the credit of the African Society, but I find that only £168 15*s.* 7*d.* was actually transferred by the bank on the 8th March, 1901, and the then Secretary, Mr. Sewell, had £3 11*s.* 6½*d.*, the balance of the petty cash in hand, thus making the actual initial working capital of the Society £172 7*s.* 1½*d.*

6. You will, no doubt, be surprised to learn that, thanks to the efforts of Mrs. Green, the Hon. Secretary, and their co-workers, from that date to the 31st March, 1902, the Society received inclusive of the £168 15*s.* 7*d.*, the sum of £1,114 19*s.* 3*d.* Out of this sum it placed £500 on deposit in the Bank of British West Africa, and the other payments it made amounted to £518 4*s.* 2*d.*, principally on the production of the Journals published by the Society, leaving a balance to the debit of the Bank on the current account of £96 15*s.* 1*d.*

7. The balance-sheet which accompanies this report, shows that the assets of the Society, in which the "Mary Kingsley Fund" deposit of £500 is not included, on the 31st March last amounted to £659 10*s.* 4½*d.*, and the liabilities to £109 0*s.* 5½*d.*, thus leaving £550 9*s.* 11d. as the amount of net capital of the Society on that date.

8. I must here again invite your attention to the "Mary Kingsley Fund," and point out that up to the 31st March last the £500 of the Fund on deposit in the London and County Bank had not been transferred to the Society. This has since been done, as also the interest which has accrued upon it up to that date. The Fund account will now be closed, and in future only the African Society's account will be kept.

9. It will be, perhaps, convenient to explain how the African Society appears in the balance-sheet indebted to the "Mary Kingsley Fund" to the amount of £10 9*s.* 11*d.* This is due to the bank crediting the Society instead of the Fund with £12 16*s.* 11*d.*, the interest it allowed on the £500 deposit of the Fund. The Society, however, refunded a sum of £2 2*s.*, which Mr. Munro sent to the Fund, and 5*s.* to Mr. Charles Kingsley,

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this sum being an over-payment made by him on his life subscription. These two items come to £2 7*s.*, which deducted from the £12 16*s.* 11*d.* leaves £10 9*s.* 11*d.* The "Mary Kingsley Fund" will, therefore, transfer to the Society the deposit £500 plus £10 9*s.* 11*d.*, making a total of £510 9*s.* 11*d.* This sum, added to the £550 9*s.* 11*d.*, the net capital of the Society, as shown in paragraph 7, makes the capital of the Society on the 31st March last practically amount to £1,060 19*s.* 10*d.*

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

CHAS. D. TURTON.

Approved.

G. W. HAND, } *Hon. Auditors.*
CYRIL EADE, }

To the Honorary Secretary of the African Society.

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BALANCE SHEET OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.—31ST MARCH, 1902.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Sundry Creditors, viz.,		
Mary Kingsley Fund	10 9 11	
Royal Asiatic Society	12 10 0	
Richard Clay and Sons	62 19 10	
Honorary Treasurer	0 0 8½	
Under Secretary	13 0 0	
For Contributions to Journal	10 0 0	
		109 0 5½
Net Capital this day		550 9 11
		£659 10 4½

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Cash in the London and County Bank	96 15 1	
Ditto in the Bank of British West Africa, on deposit	500 0 0	
		596 15 1
By Office Furniture and Requisites		56 14 4½
Sundry Debtors on Open Accounts		6 0 11
		£659 10 4½

BALANCE SHEET OF THE MARY KINGSLEY FUND.—31ST MARCH, 1902.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.
Nil.	
Net Capital this day	510 9 11
	£510 9 11

ASSETS.	£ s. d.
By Cash in London and County Bank, on deposit	500 0 0
Sundry Debtors, African Society	10 9 11
	£510 9 11

We have gone through the Accounts and Vouchers in connection with the Mary Kingsley Fund and the African Society Fund to the 31st March, 1902, and certify the same to be correct. The Balance in the Mary Kingsley Fund has been transferred to the African Society; the aggregate amount of the two Funds amounted, on the 31st March, 1902, to £1,060 19*s.* 10*d.*

GEORGE W. HAND,
CYRIL EADE, } *Hon. Auditors.*

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LIST OF MEMBERS

† = Life Members. * = Original Members.

*ABRAHAM, J. D., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*ADAM, Edward, M.D., M.R.C.S., 95, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
*ADDAQUAY, T., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*AFRICAN ASSOCIATION, LIMITED, The, 43, Castle Street, Liverpool.
1902 ALEXANDER, Lieutenant Boyd, F.Z.S., Wilsley, Cranbrook, Kent.
*ALLDRIDGE, T. J., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., District Commissioner, Bonthe, Sherbro, West Africa.
*ALLEN, Miss S. Murray, 41, Egerton Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
*ALLEYN, J. P., 40, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.
*ANAMAN, Rev. Jacob Benjamin, F.R.G.S., F.R.Met.Soc., F.R.C.I., Saltpond, Gold Coast, West Africa.
*†ANDERSON, The Hon. Lady, Tannheim, Bournemouth.
1902 ANDREWS, J. B., The Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
*ANNAN, John, Selborne House, 11, Ironmonger Lane, E.C.
*ANTROBUS, Mrs. R. L. (Council), 19, Cranley Gardens, S.W.
*ARMINJON, Pierre, Cairo, Egypt.
*ASKWITH, G. R., 26, Walsingham House, Piccadilly, W.
*ASQUITH, Right Hon. H. H., P.C., M.P., 20, Cavendish Square, W.
*AVEBURY, Right Hon. Lord, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., D.L. (President), High Elms, Farnborough, R.S.O. Kent.

*BAILEY, W. J., 24, Chancery Lane, E.C.
1902 BAILLAUD, Émile, Observatoire de Toulouse, Haute Garonne, France.
*BALFOUR, Henry, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
*BANK OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
1902 BARRETT-LENNARD, Captain John, 6, St. Leonard's Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.
1902 BARTON, William, The Gold Coast Exploration and Trading Co., Ltd., 34, Clement's Lane, E.C.
*†BATTY, The Hon. J. H., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*BATTY, Mrs. V. Roy, Harley House, Harley Street, W.
1901 BAYLDON, Edward Herbert, J.P., Oaklands, Dawlish, Devon.
*BEAZLEY, C. Raymond (Council), Merton College, Oxford.
*BEDDOES, Major H. R., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall.
1901 BELL, James, A.I.N.A., 28, Chapel Street, Liverpool.
1902 BENTLEY, The Rev. William Holman, Baptist Missionary Society, Wathen, Tumba, Congo Free State, S.W. Africa (*viâ* Antwerp).
1901 BEST, Frank Norman, 5, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1902 BEST, Thomas Alexander Vans, B.A., F.R.G.S., H.M. Judicial Officer and Collector, Government Offices, Blantyre, British Central Africa.

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*BEYNON, Richard, Market Place, Newbury.
*BINEY, J. E., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*BISHOP, Mrs. J. F., The Hurst, Hartford, Huntingdon.
*†BLAIZE, R. B. (Council), Lagos, West Africa.
1901 BLEASBY, D. P., 14, Albany Road, Southport.
1902 BLES, M S., The Beeches, Broughton Park, Manchester.
1902 BLOEME, A. de, De Nieuwe Afrikaansche Handels Vernootschap, Rotterdam.
*BLYDEN, E. W., LL.D. (V.P.), Sierra Leone, West Africa.
1902 BOHN, F., Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, 46, Rue Breteuil, Marseilles.
1902 BOURNE, Henry Richard Fox, Broadway Chambers, Westminster.
1901 BOWRING, Charles Calvert, F.Z.S., Windsor Farm, Windsor Forest, Berks.
*BRABROOK, E. W., C.B.. F.S.A., Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall.
1901 BRIDGES, George John, F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I., Royal Societies' Club, 63, St. James's Street.
1902 BRIGHT, Major R. G. T., C.M.G., 98, Cromwell Road, S.W.
1902 BROOKE, Rev. Stopford, 1, Manchester Square, W.
1902 BROOKE, Major-General E., 65, Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington, W.
*BROWN, J. P., Ntwaakro House, Tulsin Street, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*†BRUCE, Mrs. A. Livingstone, 2, Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
*BRUNTON, Sir Thomas Lauder, M.D., F.R.S., 10, Stratford Place, Cavendish Square, W.
*BRUNTON, Lady, 10, Stratford Place, Cavendish Square, W.
*BUCKLEY, Thomas S., Sierra Leone, West Africa.
*BURDON, Major J. Alder, The Residency, Bida, Northern Nigeria, West Africa.
1902 BURGHCLERE, The Right Hon. Lord, P.C., D.L., 48, Charles Street, W.
*BUXTON, Noel E., Warlies, Waltham Abbey.
*BUXTON, Sydney, M.P. (Council), 7, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
*BUXTON, Sir T. Fowell, Bart., G.C.M.G., D.L., Warlies, Waltham Abbey.
1901 BYAS, Edward, 10, Cambridge Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.

*CADDICK, Miss Helen, Glenfield, Manor Road, Sutton Coldfield.
1901 CADE, Edwin A., 6, Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.
*CARDI, The Count de (Hon. Secretary), 18, Grange Road, Chiswick, W.
*CARPENTER, The Rev. J. Estlin, 109, Banbury Road, Oxford.
1901 CATOR, R. B. P., H.M. Judge, East Africa Protectorate, Mombasa, East Africa.
*CHALMERS, Albert J., M.D., Medical College, Colombo.
1901 CHALMERS, E. H., 46, Cannon Street, E.C.
*CHALMERS, Lady, 8, Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh.
*CHALMERS, Miss J. A. L., St. Leonards, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.
1902 CHAPELLE, Vicomte de la, 34 and 36, Gresham Street, E.C.
*CLARK, William, late Attorney General, Accra, Gold Coast, 2 E, The Mansions, Bramham Gardens, S.W.
*CLARK, Mrs. William, 2 E, The Mansions, Bramham Gardens, S.W.
1901 CLARKE Walrond B., 38, St. Petersburg Place, W.
*CLAYTON, C. E., 152, North Street, Brighton.
*†CLEAVER, William, 147, Cannon Street, E.C.
*COLE, Samuel C., Water Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
*COLERIDGE, Right Hon. Lord, K.C., 8, Wetherby Place, S.W.

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1902 COLLINSON, Francis John, F.R.G.S., Registrar Supreme Court, Pretoria, National Club, 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
1902†COOKSON, Edward Hatton, 3, Mersey Street, Liverpool.
*COPELAND, Dr. W. H. Lawrence., 4, Bolton Gardens, S.W.
*CREWE, The Right Hon. The Earl of, P.C., M.A., F.S.A., 23, Hill Street, W.
*†CROMER, The Right Hon. The Earl of, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (V.P.), Cairo, Egypt.
*CROSSE, Dr. W. H., M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., 37, Albemarle Street, W.
1902†CUNLIFFE, William J. (Messrs. Edwards, Cunliffe and Co., Ltd.), 16, Byrom Street, Manchester.
1901 CURRIE, James Thomson, Dorman's Park, East Grinstead.

*DARWIN, Major Leonard, 12, Egerton Place, S.W.
1901 DAVIES, F. Arthur, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
1901 DAVIES, Frank, F.C.A., 95 and 97, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
*DAWKINS, Clinton E., K.C.B., 38, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
*DENNETT, R. E., Loango, Congo Français.
*DUNCANNON, The Right Hon. Viscount, C.B. (V.P.), 17, Cavendish Square, W.
*DUNKLEY, H., Thurleston Grange, near Rugby.

1901 EDWARDS, CUNLIFFE AND CO., Ltd., 16, Byrom Street, Manchester.
1901 EDWARDS, George, Carlton House, Putney Hill, S.W.
1902 EGLEN, John P. (Messrs. Hutton and Co.), 29, South Castle Street Liverpool.
1901 ELIOT, Sir C., K.C.M.G., C.B., Zanzibar, East Africa.
*ELLIOTT, J. Banks, Bokitsi Goldfields, Ltd., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*ELLIS, Herbert, 112, Regent Road, Leicester.
*EVERSLEY, Miss Elizabeth G., 41, Egerton Gardens, S.W.
*EVERSLEY, Miss Mary W., 19, Bennett Street, Bath.
1902 EWART, Miss M. A., Coneyhurst, Ewhurst, Guildford.

*FFENNELL, Miss Margaret C., 13, Brandenburgh Road, Chiswick, W.
*FINDLAY, Rev. W. H., 1, Coleman Street, E.C.
1901 FLETCHER, B. Morley, 7, Victoria Street, Westminster.
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1902 FONTANNAZ, A. J. (Messrs. Porter & Sons), The Albany, Liverpool.
*FOWKE, Miss Fanny, Wensley, Arkwright Road, Hampstead.
*FRAZER, J. G., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Inch-ma-home, Cambridge.

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1901 GEE, William, c/o Alfred Kirkland, Esq., 90, Carlton Road, N.
*GERMAN WEST AFRICAN TRADING CO., Ltd., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*GIFFEN, Sir Robert, K.C.B., F.R.S., 40, Brunswick Road, Hove, Brighton.
*GILMOUR, T. L., 3, Elm Court, Temple, E.C.
*GIMSON, Sydney A., 20, Glebe Street, Leicester.
1902 GLUCKSTEIN, Samuel Montague, Editor of *The West African Year Book*, Finsbury Pavement House, E.C.
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*GORDON, Frederick, Bentley Priory, Stanmore, Middlesex.
*GRANT, Corrie, M.P., 11, King's Bench Walk, E.C.
1901 GRAY, Albert, Catherine Lodge, TrafalgarSquare, Chelsea, S.W.
*†GREEN, Mrs. J. R. (V.P.), 14, Kensington Square, W.
1902 GREY, The Right Hon. Earl, LL.M., J.P., Howick House, Lesbury, Northumberland.
1901 GRIFFITH, Horace Brandford, C.M.G., Government House, Gambia.
*GRIFFITH, Mrs. F. H., Riversvale, Ashton-under-Lyne.
1902 GUICHARD, A., Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, 100, Portland Street, Manchester.
*GWYNN, Stephen, 18, Cromwell Crescent, Earl's Court, S.W.

*HADDON, A. C., M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S. (Council), Inisfail, Hill Road, Cambridge.
1902†HALDANE, The Rt. Hon. Richard Burdon, P.C., K.C., M.P., LL.D. 3, Whitehall Court, S.W.
*HAND, Rear Admiral G. W. (V.P.), 16A, Brook Green, W.
1901 HAND, Lieut. George Edward Basil, R.N., H.M.S. *Pomone*, East India Station.
*HARFORD, C. F., M.D., Livingstone College, Knott's Green, Leyton.
*HARFORD, John, Little King Street, Bristol.
*HARRIS, John M., Swan House, Copthall Avenue, E.C.
*HARRISON, Mrs. St. Leger, 27, Egerton Crescent.
1902 HART, Francis Jerome, M.A.I.M.E., 38, Marine Parade, Worthing.
*HARTLAND, E. Sidney, F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester.
1901 HAVELOCK, His Excellency Sir Arthur, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Government House, Tasmania.
1901 HAY, Sir James Shaw, K.C.M.G., 42, Lexham Gardens, Kensington, W
*HAYFORD, E. James, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*HAYFORD, Rev. Mark C., D.D., F.R.G.S, Axim, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1901 HEINEMANN, William, 6, Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.
1902 HETHERWICK, Rev. Alexander, M.A., D.D., F.R.G.S., Blantyre Mission, British Central Africa, *viâ* Chinde.
1901 HOLLIS, A. Claud, Mombasa, British East Africa.
*†HOLT, John (Council), 81, Dale Street, Liverpool.
*HOLT, Mrs. John, 2, Wexford Road, Oxton, Cheshire.
*HOOPER, Wynnard, 13, Sumner Place, South Kensington, S.W.
*HUBBARD, Mrs., 7, Holmesdale Road, Kew.
1902†HUDSON, C. G., Glass, Libreville, Congo Français.
1901 HUNTER, George Burton, J.P. (Shipbuilder), Wallsend-on-Tyne.
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*HUTTON, J. Arthur, The Woodlands, Alderley Edge, Cheshire.
*HUTTON, Mrs. J. Arthur, The Woodlands, Alderley Edge, Cheshire.

1902 IDRIS, Thomas Howell Williams (Idris & Co., Ltd.), Northumberland Street, Liverpool.
*†IM THURN, Everard, C.B., C.M.G. (Council), Government House, Colombo, Ceylon.
*IRVINE, James, F.R.G.S., Devonshire Road, Birkenhead.

*JENKS, Edward, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
*JOHNSTON, Sir H. H., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc. (Camb.), (V.P.), 27, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park.

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*JOHNSTON, The Hon. Lady, 27. Chester Terrace, Regent's Park.
1901 JOHNSTONE, Henry Beresford, British Consulate General, Tunis.
*†JONES, Sir Alfred L., African House, Water Street, Liverpool.
1901 JONES, Lawrence, African House, Water Street, Liverpool.
1901 JONES, Sir William Quayle, Kt. (Council), 14, Royal Avenue, Chelsea.

1902 KEITH, Arthur Berriedale, M.A., M.R.A.S., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
*KELTIE, John Scott, F.R.G.S., LL.D., 1, Savile Row, W.
*KEMP, Rev. Dennis, 106, Herbert Road, Plumpstead, S.E.
1901 KEMPF, Adolph Ernest, 5, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
*KENT, Mrs., Heatherlea, South Bank Road, Grassendale, Liverpool.
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1902 KEYMER, Sidney L. (Fallows & Keymer), Parker Street, Manchester.
*KING, Mervyn, Bristol.
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*KINGSLEY, Rose, Keys, Eversley, Winchfield, Hants.
1901 KIRBY, Frederick, 10, Devonshire Terrace, W.

*LAGDEN, Sir Godfrey, K.C.M.G. (V.P.) Colonial Office, S.W.
*LANG-HYDE, Major J. I., R.E., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. 16, Charing Cross, W.
1902 LASH, Mrs. Alfreda R., 130, Lexham Gardens, Kensington.
1902 LAST, Joseph T., F.R.G.S., Zanzibar, East Africa.
1902 LAWRENCE, Lieut. C. T., 2nd Battalion The Hampshire Regiment, and 2nd Battalion Northern Nigeria Regiment, 4, Prince's Gate, S.W.
1902 LE BLANC-SMITH, Stuart, Laggan House, Maidenhead.
1901 LEONARD, Major Arthur Glynn, Divisional Commissioner, Southern Nigeria.
*LEWIS, Henry Maclean, The Castle, Cape Coast, West Africa.
*LOBB, R. Popham, Wushishi, Zaria Province, Northern Nigeria.
*LUGARD, Brig. Gen. Sir F. D., K.C.M.G., C.B., Government House Northern Nigeria.
1902 LUZAC, Cornelis Gerbrand, 46, Great Russell Street, W.C.
*LYALL, The Right Hon. Sir Alfred C., P.C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E. (V.P.), 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.

1901 MCALISTER, J. B., 3, Mersey Street, Liverpool.
*MAC ALISTER, J. Y. W., F.S.A., 20, Hanover Square, W.
*MCCARTHY, James Abram, Solicitor-General, Gold Coast, West Africa.
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1901 MACDONALD, George, Goldfields of Eastern Akim, Ltd., 57, Moorgate Street, E.C.
1902 MACDONALD, Dr. George Allardice, Zanzibar, East Africa.
*MACGREGOR, His Excellency Sir William, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.D., D.Sc., LL.D. (V.P.), Government House, Lagos, West Africa.
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1901 †MACMILLAN, Frederick, 22, Devonshire Place, W.
*†MACMILLAN, George A. (Council), 19, Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.
1902 MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, African Section, 44, Mosley Street, Manchester. Represented by Elijah Helm.
*MANNEVILLE, M. le Vicomte H. de, French Embassy, Albert Gate, W.

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*MANSON, Patrick, C.M.G., F.R.S., M.D., F.R.C.P. (Council), 21, Qheen Anne Street, W.
*MARCUS, Herman William, Merryland Hotel, Great Bookham, Leatherhead.
*MARMENT, F. V., 18, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
*MATHESON, The Hon. Mrs. E. F., New College, Oxford.
1901 MATTHEWS, William, C.M.G., Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, S.W.
1901 MAXWELL, J. C., M.A., M.D., District Commissioner, Karene, Sierra Leone.
*MAY, Cornelius, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
1901 MELLAND, Mrs. Frank, Buckden, Huntingdon.
1902 MEYERSTEIN, Edward William, The Stock Exchange, London.
1902 MICHELL, George Babington, "Woodbank," Highfield Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.
*MICHOLLS, Mrs. Montefiore, 11, Queen's Gate, S.W.
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1901 MILNE, A.D., M.B., F.R.G.S., Entebbe, Uganda.
*MILNE, A. H., Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, Liverpool.
*MOCKLER-FERRYMAN, Lieut. Col. A. F., Oak Grove, Royal Military College, Camberley.
*†MOLTENO, Percy A., 10, Palace Court, Hyde Park, W.
*MONTAGU, Sir Samuel, Bart., M.P., 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
1902†MONTEFIORE, Claude G., Coldeast, Southampton.
*MOREL, Edmund D., Stafford House, Hawarden, Chester.
1902†MORGAN, Septimus Vaughan, 37, Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
*MORLEY, The Right Hon. John, P.C., M.P., F.R.S., 57, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.
1901 MORRIS, E. Dwight, Feltham, Middlesex.
1902 MORRIS, Miss Mary B., Dudley Villa, Bexley Heath, Kent.
1902 MOSELEY, The Hon. C. H. Harley, Colonial Secretary, Lagos, Braidwood, Fasset Road, Kingston-on-Thames.
1902 MOSELEY, The Hon. Mrs. Harley, Braidwood, Fasset Road, Kingston-on-Thames.
1902 MOSELEY, Lichfield Henry, Manager, Anglo-African Bank, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, London.
*MYRES, J. L., M.A., F.S.A. (Council), 1, Wellington Place, Oxford.
1902 MYRES, Lindo S., 9, Clarges Street, W.

*NASSAU, Rev. Robert Hamill, M.D., D.D., Batanga, Kamerun, South-West Africa.
*NATHAN, His Excellency Major Matthew, K.C.M.G., Accra, Gold Coast.
*NEVILLE, G. W., 18, Sussex Place, Regent's Park.
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*ONSLOW, The Right Hon. The Earl of, G.C.M.G., 7, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall.
*OSBORNE AND MARTIN, Messrs., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa
01 OZANNE, John H., C.M.G., La Turquie, St. Samson's, Guernsey.

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*PAGET, G. E., Warnford Court, E.C.
*PARKER, C. T., Sierra Leone.
*PEEL, The Hon. W., 18, Arlington Street, W.
*PENGELLY, J. B., Enderley, Elmfield Road, Bromley, Kent.
1902 PEREGRINO, Francis Zaccheus S., Editor of "The South African Spectator," 11, Hanover Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
1901 PERKS, George D., Hamilton House, Victoria Embankment.
1901 PERRYMAN, C. W., J.P., 41, Charing Cross Road, S.W.
*PIETERSON, W. E., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*PLANGE, Henry, 67, Melbourne Grove, East Dulwich.
*POBEE, Charles, Matwimuha House, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*POLLOCK, Sir Frederick, Bart., LL.D., 48, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1901 PONSONBY, The Hon. Arthur C., 11, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
1902 PORDAGE, Frederick, Superintendent Public Works, Collector of Revenue, Judicial Officer, Entebbe, Uganda.
1902 POURRIÈRE, A., Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, 6, Castle Street, Liverpool.
*POWELL, J. H., Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
*PRICE, F. G. Hilton, 17, Collingham Gardens, S.W.
1901 PRINCE, Julius C., 22, Upper Wimpole Street, W.
*PROBSTHAM, Arthur, 42, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.
1901 PUNCH, Cyril, Lagos, West Africa.

1902 RAYNER, Sir Thomas Crossley, 18, Carlisle Road, Hove, Sussex, and Lagos.
*READ, C. H., British Museum, W.C.
1902 READ, Rev. F. W., The Lindens, Richmond Road, Malvern Link.
*REEVE, Henry Fenwick, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., F.S.A., Colonial Office, S.W.
1902 REID, William, Finsbury Pavement House, E.C.
*RIDGEWAY, Professor W. (Council), Fen Ditton, Cambridge.
*RIPON, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, K.G. (V.P.), 9, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
*RIVERS, W. H. R., St. John's College, Cambridge.
1902 ROBERTS, Sir Owen, D.C.L., J.P., D.L., Clothworkers' Hall, Mincing Lane, E.C.
1901 ROSCOE, Rev. John, 80, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
1902 ROSS, Major Ronald, C.B., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., The Jenner Institute, Chelsea.
*ROTH, Henry Ling (Council), 32, Prescott Street, Halifax.
1901 RUFFER, Marc Armand, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., President of the Sanitary Maritime Quarantine Board of Egypt, Alexandria.
*RUSSELL, H. B. W., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*RUTSON, Mrs., 74, Eaton Square, S.W.

*†ST. JOHN, Captain Arthur J., 32, Well Walk, Hampstead.
*SAM, W. G., Tarkwa, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*SAMUEL, Mrs. Sylvester, 80, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1902 SANDERS, Carl, c/o Messrs. Hatton & Cookson, Ltd., Chiloango, Landana, Portuguese Congo.
*SANDYS, The Hon. Michael E. M., Brook's Club, St. James's Street.
*SAUER, The Hon. Dr. Hans, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.
*SCHENCK, Theodor, 280, Sandycombe Road, Kew Gardens.
*SCHENCK, Mrs. Theodor, 280, Sandycombe Road, Kew Gardens.
1901 SEEAR, John, The Quarry, Cheam, Surrey.
1902†SELBY, Mrs. Christina Mary, Cape Coast Castle.

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*SELOUS, F. C., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., Heatherside, Worplesdon, Surrey.
*SEWELL, Colonel H. Fane, Muttusmoor, Upper Tooting, S.W.
*SEWELL, Robert, 6, Palace Mansions, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
*SHARP, Mrs. M. C., Cintra, Hampstead Lane, Highgate, N.
1901 SHAW, Miss Flora, Government House, Northern Nigeria.
*SHAW, P. A., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*SHELFORD, Frederic, B.Sc., M.Inst.C.E., F.R.G.S. (Council), 35A, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
*SHELFORD, William, C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E. (Council), 35A, Great George Street, S.W.
1901 SHIELD, Arthur Hindhaugh, 35A, Great George Street, Westminster.
*SKEAT, W. W., M.A., 2, Salisbury Villas, Cambridge.
*SMITH, Sir Charles Euan, K.C.B., C.S.I., Shinfield Manor, Reading.
*SMITH, Sir J. Smalman, M.A., J.P. (V.P.), Courtfield, Wellesley Road, Chiswick.
*SMITH, A. Murray, 40, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
*SMITH, Miss L. Toulmin, 1, Park Terrace, Oxford.
1901 SPEEDING, William C., Harbour Master, Lagos.
1901 SPENCER, The Hon. Mrs. Robert, Dallington House, Northampton.
1901 SPILSBURY, Major Gybbon, 37, Abbey Road, N.W.
1902 SPURRIER, Dr. Alfred Henry, Zanzibar, East Africa.
1901 STEPHEN, The Hon. Justice H. L., High Court, Calcutta.
1902 STEWART, Captain Donald W., C.M.G.. British Resident, Kumasi, Sports Club, St. James's Square.
*STOPFORD, Colonel J. G. B., (Hon. Treasurer), 7, Trebovir Road, S.W.
1901 STOPFORD, James T. A., 14, Kensington Square, W.
*STUART, Hahnemann (Council), 41, Castle Street, Liverpool.
*†SWANZY, F. (Council), 147, Cannon Street, E.C.
1902 SYSON, Robert Cockburn, A.M.Inst.C.E., Leamington Cottage, Bearsden, near Glasgow.

*TAMPLIN, Frederick A., Thornfield, Conyers Road, Streatham.
1901 TATE, Harry Russell, Mombasa, British East Africa.
1902 TAYLOR, William, Hill Crest, Marple.
*THOMAS, The Hon. J. J., Wilberforce House, Gloucester Street, Sierra Leone.
*THOMSON, J., Holmleigh, West Road, Cambridge.
1901 TIMMIS, Ilius Augustus, 2, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
*TITHERINGTON, Rev. A. F., Brighton College, Brighton.
1902 TRIGGE, Joseph E., The Niger Company, Limited, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.
1902 TULLY, Colonel Thomas, The Mill House, Wimbledon Common.
*TURTON, C. D. (Hon. Librarian), Kismet, Riverdale Road, Twickenham Park.
*TYLOR, E. B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., The Museum House, Oxford.

*VANDERSPUIJE, Chief John, Accra, Gold Coast.

*WALKDEN, Messrs. J. & Co., Limited, 4, Minshull Street, Manchester.
1902 WALLACE, William, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., Deputy High Commissioner, Northern Nigeria, The Retreat, Castle Hill, Maidenhead.
1901 WALLACH, Henry, 35, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W.
1902 WALLIS-COX, James, 22, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick, W.
*WARD, Mrs. Humphry, 25, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
1902 WATERS, William, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
1902 WATTS, Walter, Agent-General, The Niger Company, Limited, The Limes, London Road, Retford, Nottinghamshire.

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1902 WELSH, Thomas, 81, Dale Street, Liverpool.
*WERNER, Miss A., 20, Dry Hill Park Road, Tonbridge.
1902 WESTPHAL, Johannes, Bohnen Strasse, 19, Hamburg.
1902 WILLETT, A. A. Saltren, 4, Elm Court, Temple, E.C.
*WILSON, D. O., 68, Westmoreland Street, Sierra Leone.
1902 WILSON, George, C.B., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I., H.M. Deputy Commissioner, Uganda Protectorate, Entebbe, Uganda, *viâ* Mombasa, East Africa.
*WRIGHT, C. T. Hagberg, LL.D. (Council), 1, Wellington Chambers, York Street, S.W.

1901 ZIMMERMAN, Dr. A., 9, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
*†ZOCHONIS, J. B., 42, Whitworth Street, Manchester.

Annual Subscribers.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE, Downing Street, S.W.
THE COLONIAL OFFICE, Downing Street, S.W.

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LIST OF DONATIONS, 1900–1901

	£	s.	d
Abbot, George, M.R.C.S., 33, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells		10	6
African Association, Limited, The, 43, Castle Street, Liverpool...	52	10	0
Annan, John, 54, Coleman Street, E.C.	10	0	0
Anonymous (per Lady Johnston)	2	2	0
Askwith, G. R., 26, Walsingham House, Piccadilly, W.	4	0	0
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H., P.C., M.P., 20, Cavendish Square, W.	5	0	0
Atkinson, Rev. Dr., Clare College Lodge, Cambridge	5	5	0
Atkinson, Mrs., Clare College Lodge, Cambridge...	5	5	0
Bailey, W. J., 24, Chancery Lane, E.C....	2	2	0
Beynon, Richard, Market Place, Newbury	2	2	0
Bickerdike, Mrs., Belmont, Greystones, Co. Wicklow	1	0	0
Bishop, Mrs. J. F. (first donation), The Hurst, Hartford, Huntingdon	2	2	0
Blaize, R. B., Lagos, West Africa	100	0	0
Bruce, Mrs. A. L., 2, Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh	3	0	0
Burkitt, F. C., 12, Harvey Road, Cambridge	2	2	0
Burnham, Rev. A. L., 10, Grange Crescent Road, Sheffield ...		5	0
Buxton, Noel E., Warlies, Waltham Abbey	2	2	0
Buxton, Sir T. Fowell, Bart., G.C.M.G., D.L., Warlies, Waltham Abbey	5	0	0
Cardi, The Count de, 18, Grange Road, Chiswick...	2	2	0
Chalmers, Lady, 8, Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh	4	0	0
Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, 8, Old Jewry, E.C. ...	5	5	0
Copeland, Mrs. H. M., 27, Addison Road, W.	5	5	0
Copeland, W. H. L., M.D., 4, Bolton Gardens, S.W.	5	0	0
Crosse, Dr. W. H., M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., 37, Albemarle Street, W.	5	5	0
Darwin, Major Leonard, 12, Egerton Place, S.W.	10	0	0
Eversley, Miss E. G., 41, Egerton Gardens, S.W.	1	1	0
Ewart, Miss M. A., Coneyhurst, Ewhurst, Guildford	1	0	0
Ffennell, Miss M. C., 172, The Grove, Hammersmith	1	1	0
Fitzgerald, Mrs., 2, Green Street, W.	5	0	0
Fitzmaurice, The Lady Edmund, 2, Green Street, W.	2	0	0
Giffen, Sir Robert, K.C.B., F.R.S., 40, Brunswick Road, Hove, Brighton	2	2	0
Glaister, Thomas, 40, Priory Street, Birkenhead	1	0	0
Carried forward	£254	8	6

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	254	8	6
Gold Coast Chronicle, Accra, Gold Coast.....		10	6
Goldie, Rt. Hon. Sir George T., P.C., K.C.M.G., 11, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.	105	0	0
Gordon, Frederick, Bentley Priory, Stanmore	5	0	0
Green, Mrs. J. R., 14, Kensington Square, W. (first donation) ...	30	0	0
Griffith, Sir William B., Kt., Accra, Gold Coast	1	1	0
Guillemard, Dr. F. H. H., Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge	2	2	0
Gwynn, Stephen, 30, Walpole Street, Chelsea	1	1	0
Harrison, Mrs. St. Leger (Lucas Malet), 3, Bullingham Mansions, Pitt Street, W. (annually for three years)	5	5	0
Hartland, E. Sidney, F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester	4	4	0
Hayford, Rev. Mark C., D.D., F.R.G.S., The Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, S.W.	3	3	0
Herford, C. H., M.A., Litt.D., Brynymor, Parkfield Road, Didsbury, Manchester	1	1	0
Holt, John, 81, Dale Street, Liverpool	100	0	0
Hooper, Wynnard, 13, Sumner Place, S.W....	3	3	0
Hooper, Mrs. Wynnard, 13, Sumner Place, S.W.	5	5	0
Hutton, J. A., The Woodlands, Alderley Edge, Cheshire... ...	5	5	0
Johnston, The Hon. Lady, 27, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park ...	1	1	0
Kemp, Rev. Dennis, 106, Herbert Road, Plumstead, S.E. ...	1	1	0
Kingsley, Charles G., 32, St. Mary Abbot's Terrace, Kensington, W.	100	0	0
Lang-Hyde, Major J. I., R.E., C.M.G., care of Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, W.	1	0	0
Lee, Miss Alice, 229, Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale, W.		10	0
Lee, Thomas R., 229, Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale, W.		10	0
Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, Leicester	10	0	0
Loat, L., F.Z.S., 7, Harvey Road, Cambridge		5	6
Lorimer, Mrs., 1, Bruntsfield Crescent, Edinburgh	1	1	0
Lyall, Sir Alfred C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E., 18, Queen's Gate, S.W. ...	10	10	0
Mackenzie, Miss B. J., Towerside, St. Leonard's Road, Forres, N.B. (annually)		5	0
Macmillan, George A., 19, Earl's Terrace, Kensington	100	0	0
Macphail, Miss, Towerside, St. Leonard's Road, Forres, N.B. ...		5	0
Manneville, M. le Vicomte H. de, French Embassy, Albert Gate, W....	2	2	0
Marment, F. V., 18, Leadenhall Street, E.C.	2	2	0
Micholls, Mrs. Montefiore, 11, Queen's Gate, S.W.	10	0	0
Montagu, Sir Samuel, Bart., M.P., 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.	10	0	0
Moor, His Excellency Sir Ralph D., K.C.M.G., C.M.G., Government House, Southern Nigeria	2	2	0
Morel, Edmund D., 9, Kirby Park, West Kirby, Cheshire ...	1	0	0
Morley, Rt. Hon. John, P.C., M.P., F.R.S., 57, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.	3	3	0
Nathan, Major Matthew, C.M.G., Accra Gold Coast	10	0	0
Neville, G. W., 18, Sussex Place, Regent's Park	10	0	0
Carried forward	803	6	6

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	803	6	6
Nomad Society, The, 5, Agar Street, Strand, W.C.	2	2	0
North, F. W., F.G.S., 60, Cheapside, E.C.	1	1	0
Novikoff, Madame, 2M, Bickenhall Mansions, Portman Square, W.	1	0	0
One Interested		10	6
Owen, C. T., 5, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.	1	1	0
Peel, The Hon. W., 18, Arlington Street, W.	2	2	0
Pengelly, J. B., Enderley, Elmfield Road, Bromley, Kent ...	1	1	0
Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart., LL.D., 48, Great Cumberland Place, S.W.	4	0	0
Price, F. G. Hilton, 17, Collingham Gardens, S.W.	3	3	0
Reid, G. Archdall, M.D., 9, Victoria Road South, Southsea ...		10	6
Ripon, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, K.G., 9, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.	5	0	0
Roth, Henry Ling, 32, Prescott Street, Halifax	2	2	0
Roy, Mrs., Holmleigh, West Road, Cambridge	5	5	0
Rugby Friend, A	1	1	0
Rutson, Mrs., 74, Eaton Square, S.W.	20	0	0
Samuel, Mrs. Sylvester, 80, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	2	2	0
Sauer, The Hon. Hans, M.D., Bath Club, Dover Street, S.W. ...	5	0	0
Shelford, William, C.M.G., M. Inst. C.E., 35A, Great George Street, S.W.	5	0	0
Shore, L. E., M.D., St. John's College, Cambridge	2	2	0
Sierra Leone Branch Society (per The Hon. J. J. Thomas)... ...	53	0	6
Smith, Sir J. Smalman, Courtfield, Wellesley Road, Chiswick ...	2	2	0
Smith, A. Murray, 40, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.	10	10	0
Smith, Miss E. Toulmin, 1, Park Terrace, Oxford...	1	1	0
Strachey, J. St. Loe, Newlands Corner, Merrow, Guildford ...	1	1	0
Swanzy, F., 147, Cannon Street, E.C. (and 5 guineas annually)...	20	0	0
Taylor, John F., K.C., 4, Ely Place, Dublin	3	3	0
Thomasson, C. J. P., Woodside, Bolton, Lancs.	5	0	0
Trinity, The Rev. The Master of, Cambridge		10	0
Turner, Miss E., Langton Green, Tunbridge Wells		10	6
Walkden, Messrs. J. and Co., Ltd., 4, Minshull Street, Manchester	2	2	0
Walker, Miss, Roan School for Girls, Devonshire Road, Greenwich		10	0
Ward, Mrs. Humphry, 25, Grosvenor Place, S.W. (first donation)	10	0	0
Williams, The Hon. C. Riby, C.M.G., Accra, Gold Coast ...		10	6
Wolfe, Miss E. S., Jarvis Brook, Sussex	5	0	0
Total	982	10	0

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DONATIONS, 1902.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, 1900–1901	982	10	0
Cookson, Edward Hatton, 3, Mersey Street, Liverpool	50	0	0
Ffennell, Miss M. C., 172, The Grove, Hammersmith	1	1	0
Mackenzie, Miss B. J., Towerside, St. Leonard's Road, Forres, N.B.		5	0
Maltby, Lieut. Gerald, R.N., Assistant Secretary, Imperial Institute, S.W.	2	2	0
Total	£1,035	18	0

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RULES OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

(*Founded in memory of Mary Kingsley*, 1901)

1902—1903

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

1.—The African Society has been founded in commemoration of the work of Miss Mary Kingsley. It is instituted for the purpose of investigating the usages, institutions, customs, religions, antiquities, history, and languages of the native races of Africa; of facilitating the commercial and industrial development of the continent in the manner best fitted to secure the welfare of its inhabitants; and as a central institution in England for the study of African subjects.

2.—The funds of the Society shall be exclusively devoted to furthering these ends by the periodical publication of a Journal, and by the establishment of a Library, Reading Room, and, should the Society so determine, a Museum.

MEMBERSHIP.

3.—The Society shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary Members. Any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society shall be eligible for election by the Council as an Honorary Member. There shall not be more than thirty such Honorary Members. They shall be entitled, without any payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members. Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society.

ELECTION OF ORDINARY MEMBERS.

4.—The election of Ordinary Members is vested in the Council. A candidate for Ordinary Membership must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another Member; and the nomination,

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stating the candidate's name, address, and profession, must be placed in the hands of the Secretary at least fourteen clear days before the meeting of the Council at which the election is to be held.

5.—The nomination shall be exhibited in the general assembly room of the Society.

6.—At each general meeting of the Society the names of Members elected since the last general meeting shall be announced by the Secretary. The Secretary shall in all cases inform members of their election.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

7.—The annual subscription shall be one guinea. It may be compounded for by a payment of fifteen guineas, which payment shall entitle the donor to be enrolled as a Life Member of the Society.

8.—Every Ordinary Member is required to pay upon his election the sum of one guinea as his annual subscription for the year then current; but if the election takes place on a date subsequent to the thirty-first of October the first payment shall cover the period until the close of the following year.

9.—Every person elected shall make the payment due from him within two months from date of election; otherwise his election shall be void, unless the Council shall, for special reasons otherwise direct.

10.—Annual subscriptions shall be due, in advance, on the first day of January each year. If, due notice having been given, a subscription remain unpaid for a year from the date on which it became payable, the Member's name shall be placed on the notice-board in the general assembly room of the Society. The name shall remain there until the next following anniversary meeting of the Society; when, if any subscription be still due and unpaid, he shall cease to be a Member of the Society.

THE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

11.—The Officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, and a Secretary and Librarian.

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12.—The President shall be nominated annually by the Council.

13.—The Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the Council, and shall be elected at the annual anniversary meeting of the Society in the manner provided in Rule 31. They shall hold office for three years from date of election, and shall always be eligible for re-election.

14.—The Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer shall be elected annually at the anniversary meeting on the nomination of the Council, as provided for in Rule 31.

15.—The Secretary and Librarian shall be appointed by the Council, and shall be a permanent officer, or officers, of the Society.

16.—Any vacancy occurring amongst the officers may be filled up by the Council.

THE COUNCIL.

17.—The Council shall consist of the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Officers, and eighteen other Members of the Society.

18.—The eighteen Members of the Council who are not Officers of the Society shall be nominated by the existing Council, and shall be elected at the annual anniversary meeting of the Society in the manner provided in Rule 31. Six shall retire annually by rotation, but shall be eligible for immediate re-election. Any vacancy occurring may be filled up by the Council.

19.—The ordinary meetings of the Council shall be held once a month, from November to June inclusive.

20.—Special meetings of the Council may be summoned, under the sanction of the President or one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

21.—Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes, the Chairman having a casting vote.

22.—At meetings of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the senior Vice-President present; failing these by the senior Member present.

23.—Committees—three of whom shall constitute a quorum, unless otherwise specified—may be appointed by the Council.

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GENERAL MEETINGS.

24.—At all meetings of the Society the Chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the senior Vice-President present; failing these by the senior Member of Council present.

25.—The Ordinary General Meetings of the Society shall be held on such days as the Council shall direct. Notices of meetings shall be sent to all accessible members.

26.—Every Member may introduce visitors at an Ordinary General Meeting, personally or by card.

27.—Nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be discussed at Ordinary General Meetings, unless the Council has specially decided to the contrary, and in such case the particular subjects shall be notified to Members by the Secretary at least fourteen days before the General Meeting.

28.—The course of business at General Meetings shall be as follows:

(1) The minutes of the preceding meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and on being accepted as accurate shall be signed by the Chairman.
(2) The list of New Members shall be read (Rule 6).
(3) Donations made to the Society shall be announced or laid before the meeting.
(4) Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the meeting, and of which notice has been given according to Rule 29, shall be discussed.
(5) Papers and communications shall be read, and discussion thereon invited.

The decision on any matter shall rest with the majority present, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

SPECIAL MEETINGS.

29.—The Council may at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society on giving fourteen days' notice, to consider and determine any matter of interest or importance that may arise;

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and to pass, abrogate, or amend rules. At such a meeting no business shall be brought forward other than that which has been notified.

30.—A Special Meeting may also be convened by the Council on the written requisition of ten Members of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made, or the subject to be discussed.

31.—The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be considered a Special Meeting, and shall be held on such date as the Council shall direct. At this meeting the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors shall be received and considered; the Officers, Council, and Auditors for the ensuing year shall be elected, under the provisions of Rules 13, 14, 18, and 32; the names of the Honorary Members elected by the Council shall be notified; and the Members present shall deliberate on any question that may have been proposed relative to the affairs of the Society and of which due notice has been given under Rule 29.

The election of all Officers and Members of Council shall be conducted as follows. The Council's nomination shall be printed and forwarded to every Member of the Society resident in Great Britain and Ireland, together with any other names proposed and seconded by Members of the Society and placed in the Secretary's hands ten full days before the date of the Anniversary Meeting. The Council's nomination shall first be put to the meeting, and if carried the further proposals shall not be put.

AUDIT.

32.—The accounts of the Society shall be audited annually in April by two Auditors nominated by the Council and elected at the Anniversary Meeting.

33.—The report presented by the Auditors shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

34.—The Society shall publish a Quarterly Journal containing papers, articles, communications, illustrations, notes and letters on any of the subjects alluded to in Rule 1 above.

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35.—The Secretary or a Member of Council shall be the Editor of the Journal.

36.—Before being admitted and published in the Journal or read at a General Meeting every paper or article must have been presented to, and approved and accepted by, the Council. The Editor shall have power to accept and publish letters, reviews, and minor communications at his discretion.

37.—The Journal shall be sent post free to each Member of the Society whose subscription is not in arrear for more than six months.

38.—The Council may present copies of the Journal to other Societies, and to selected individuals.

39.—Every original communication read before the Society, or published in its Journal, becomes its property. The author may re-publish it six months after its publication by the Society.

BRANCH SOCIETIES.

40.—Societies locally constituted in any part of Africa may be admitted by the Council as Branch Societies of the African Society.

41.—Members of such Branch Societies are entitled to the use of the Library, and to attend meetings of the Society.

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

All applications for advertisement space to be addressed to—

THE SECRETARY OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET,
LONDON, W.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BUNGAY

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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF
MARY KINGSLEY

NO. V. OCTOBER

1902

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.

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NOTICES

Copies of the Rules and Constitution, Candidates' Proposal, and Membership Forms supplied on application at the Society's Office, 22 Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, London, W. Candidates for admission into the Society who may be residents abroad, and unable to obtain the papers, may apply to the Secretary, giving their description and address. On receipt of these the Secretary will prepare the necessary documents for submission to the Council.

Every Ordinary Member shall pay on his election £1 1*s.* as his first annual subscription; or he may become a Life Member by one payment of £15 15*s.*

Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st of January.

The privileges of a Member include admission (with the right to introduce friends either personally or by card) to all ordinary meetings of the Society, and the use of the Library.

Each Member is also entitled to receive a copy of all the Society's Periodical Publications.

Membership forms can also be procured from the BANK OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, 14 CASTLE STREET, LIVERPOOL, or 17 LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON, and its Agencies at HAMBURG, TENERIFFE, and GRAND CANARY. Also from its branches at BATHURST, SIERRA LEONE, AXIM, SEKONDI, TARKWA, CAPE COAST CASTLE, ACCRA, and LAGOS.

In MS. communications all Native names either of persons or places should be written in Roman type.

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THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

(*Founded in memory of Mary Kingsley.*)

22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

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THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT DUNCANNON, C.B.
THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE, P.C., K.C.M.G.
MRS. J. R. GREEN.
REAR-ADMIRAL G. W. HAND.
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SIR GODFREY LAGDEN, K.C.M.G.
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SIR JOHN SMALMAN SMITH, M.A., J.P., late Chief Justice, Lagos.

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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

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NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN WEST AFRICA

AMONG the various possible modes of promoting the material welfare of the native races in tropical and sub-tropical Africa, there are few, perhaps none, that seem at first sight more practicable, or more likely to be extensively useful than that of the methodical cultivation of raw cotton. The fibre has, in times far beyond the reach of exact records, been gathered as a spontaneous product, and spun and woven in many parts of Africa; but nowhere, except in Egypt, has it yet become the subject of regular and sustained industry. Attempts, well meant and liberally supported, were made during the "cotton famine" of 1861-5 to establish the growth of cotton permanently in West Africa, and some fairly considerable success followed, but these experiments must be regarded as failures in so far as lasting results are concerned. Now as before West African

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cotton is gathered from the indigenous perennial tree. It is in fact a "jungle" product; and although merchants now and then pick up and export to England a few bales of it from time to time, there is nothing like regular cultivation of cotton in West Africa with the intention of making it an article of profitable commerce, either for internal consumption or for export. The natural product suffices no doubt for small local requirements, but if the growth of cotton is to become an important source of wealth and a means of training the people in habits of steady industry, cotton must be systematically planted and grown as an annual. Only in this way can West African cotton take its place as a successful competitor in the markets of the world, and as an important article of commercial exchange. Occasional instances are to be met with of the introduction of exotic seed and of good crops of excellent cotton having been grown from it, as at Mombasa, or in experimental plots in West Africa, but no effort has yet been made to introduce the industry as an important and continuous business undertaking.

Circumstances are at the present moment favourable for thoroughly testing the possibility of establishing the cultivation of cotton in West Africa on a large scale. Notwithstanding the increased area devoted to this product in the United States and in Egypt, the entire supply from these sources within the last two or three years has not been sufficient to keep the machinery of Europe and America continuously going. The insufficiency has no doubt been aggravated by the partial failure of the Indian crops, consequent upon insufficient rainfall, but apart from that additional cause, the scarcity towards the close of each of the last three or four seasons has aroused much interest amongst spinners in Lancashire and elsewhere in the question of securing one or more new and extensive cotton fields which may provide a substantial measure of assurance against bad seasons in the United States, the chief source of the longer stapled varieties. The American plant is especially liable to seasonal vicissitudes, which often cut down the yield during the later stages of growth, and disappoint the expectations raised in the earlier period.

The spinning industry of Europe—and of America too—has thus during the later period of the crop delivery season at least,

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been repeatedly the victim of scarcity prices, and the trade in cotton goods throughout the world has been checked and perturbed by uncertainty and violent fluctuations. This frequently recurring evil is aggravated by the modern method of entering into forward contracts for supplies of manufactured goods to the distributing markets all over the world to be delivered in subsequent months. The losses and other troubles consequent upon a fall from scarcity prices have therefore made merchants and dealers in cotton manufactures exceedingly unwilling to buy in periods of temporary short supply of the raw material. At such times the current demand for goods is always very small, the full production of the mills cannot be got rid of, and machinery and workpeople are partially and for a time thrown out of employment.

What is the cure for these recurring disturbances? The conviction has taken hold of the minds of many thoughtful persons in Lancashire and elsewhere, that the most likely method of averting them, or of lessening their painful consequences, is to multiply the important sources of supply of raw cotton, and some are turning their minds with hopeful anticipation to Africa as the most promising region. They have ample justification. The marvellous progress of Egypt as a cotton field within the last twenty-five years, and the certainty of its extension into the Soudan before very long, where 15,000,000 acres of suitable land and abundant water facilities await it, are full of encouragement. Indeed, from the Nile Delta to Natal, and from Sierra Leone to Mombasa, there are probably few extensive regions in which the more valuable qualities cannot be grown.

But elsewhere than in Egypt and the Egyptian Soudan the systematic and profitable cultivation of cotton on a large scale is a problem yet to be solved. Enough is known of the climate, the rainfall, and the soil of large territories in other parts of the continent, including West Africa, to warrant the most encouraging expectations of success. But there are other conditions to be considered, to which I shall refer presently. Meanwhile it is instructive to note that, in so far as the production of the better qualities is concerned, all that we know of these other regions leads to the belief that Africa, west, east, and south offers a

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very much more promising field than India, and it is of the better qualities especially that the need for new supplies is most urgent.

India has large areas over which plenty of cotton can be and is raised, but the quality of the fibre is inferior, and notwithstanding repeated and persevering efforts to coax exotic superior varieties within the last fifty years, it has been found impossible to maintain the quality of the original type. Degeneration has hitherto proved to be the fate of such varieties when introduced into the dependency. The class of cotton known as Dharwar was grown at first from seed brought from the United States just sixty years ago, and during the Cotton Famine it took an important position in the Liverpool market as a substitute for American cotton, but for many years past the quantity produced has been quite small, and although it is still quoted in the price lists, it does not command anything like the same price as American. The Dharwar district was selected as the very best for the cultivation of this superior variety, because it receives the benefit of both monsoons, and because from its high elevation its climate is comparatively temperate. Yet in the reports of Mr. Harry Rivett-Carnack, the Cotton Commissioner for the Central Provinces and Berar, and particularly in the one for the year 1868-9, there is abundant evidence to the effect that not only in the Dharwar district, but in all parts of India, the persevering efforts which had then for several years been made by public officers and private individuals to introduce the longer and finer stapled varieties had been unsuccessful. From time to time since then experiments have been undertaken with a view to introducing the longer staples into India, but with no better success than before, and good authorities have come to agree with Mr. Rivett-Carnack and his coadjutors in the great efforts which were made in his time, that the hope of India as a cotton producer lies in the improvement of the indigenous varieties and not in attempts to bring in exotic growths. For these the climate and seasons of India are unsuited, and there is no probability that she will ever become a serious competitor with Africa in regard of the better qualities.

Turning our attention to West Africa the first question to be answered is, Have we any experience of attempts to grow

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cotton there with a view to the provision of a substantial supply for export? Travellers into the interior, English and foreign, bear witness to the growth of cotton in almost every part of West Africa, and of its handicraft manufacture by the natives from immemorial times. But they never speak of its systematic cultivation, and there is reason to believe that the increased quantity of West African cotton which came to Europe during and after the American war, attracted by the high prices of those years, was almost entirely the product of the indigenous perennial shrub.

The records of the Cotton Supply Association, founded in Manchester in 1857, furnish some instructive material for our present purpose, although this is not so abundant nor so specific in several respects as could be desired. Its establishment occurred four years before the outbreak of the American war. The serious political dangers attending the institution of slavery in the South, and the apparent impossibility of extending the growth of cotton there, under the then-existing circumstances, so as to provide sufficient raw material to meet the constantly increasing needs of the cotton manufacturing industry, were the main motives for the founding of the Association, which was not dissolved until 1871. As an auxiliary to its principal operations, the issue of a journal called the *Cotton Supply Reporter*, at first monthly, and afterwards twice a month, was begun in 1858. The first number contains the record of an address delivered in the Town Hall, Manchester, on 6th August, 1858, by Consul Campbell, of Lagos; for at that time Consular representatives were maintained by the British Government in our own West African Colonies. He referred to the abundant production of cotton in the whole region between the coast and the bend of the Niger, but directed his remarks and his proposals chiefly to the Yoruba country and the adjacent regions, where he said the people were exceedingly fond of agriculture. From Yoruba even cotton cloth woven in native looms was sent to Brazil every year. With a view to assisting the main work of the Association he sketched out a plan by which an extended growth of cotton might be best promoted in that part of the continent. An agent should forthwith be stationed at Abeokuta, with power to appoint

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native sub-agents in the numerous towns in the interior. Through these channels gins and presses should be distributed at suitable places, and provision made for utilising the river communications by small steamers tugging canoe or boat cargoes to Lagos. Mr. Campbell declared that native African cotton could then be laid down in Manchester at 4¼*d.* per lb. If this was of the same quality as the occasional shipments now received from Lagos, it must have been worth very nearly as much as Middling American of which the price, at that time, was 7¼*d.* per lb. He made no reference to the more methodical cultivation of cotton, assuming apparently that if means were provided for the ginning of it by machinery, for packing and conveying it cheaply to the coast, the natives would have sufficient inducement in the price they received to see to the enlargement of production themselves.

But even before that year and for a long time afterwards Mr. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester and Lagos, had spent much money and effort in endeavouring to bring cotton in large quantity from Lagos and Liberia to England. Unfortunately no records of his work are accessible, and there are only occasional references to it in the *Reporter*. In one of its earlier numbers there is further information as to the cotton resources of the Lagos hinterland from Mr. D. J. May, who conducted an official expedition to the Niger territory, passing through Yoruba on his return to Lagos. From the river to Yoruba three-fourths of the whole country was under cultivation, chiefly of grain. No mention is made of cotton fields; but Mr. May says:—"In every hut is cotton spinning [by hand wheel presumably], in every town is weaving (Yoruba is famous for its cloth), dyeing, often iron smelting, pottery works by no means despicable, or other useful employments to be witnessed. Lastly, from town to town for many miles the entire road presents a continuous file of men, women, and children carrying these articles of their production for barter or sale." Raw cotton is also mentioned as a commodity thus carried, along with palm oil, probably for export, in part at least from Lagos. Mr. Gerald Ralston, then British Consul-General in Liberia, writes to Mr. Henry Ashworth upon the prospects of cotton cultivation in that country. He evidently refers to

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the methodical planting of cotton, for he says writing in 1858 that undoubtedly the production of coffee, sugar, palm oil, camwood, and arrowroot was more likely to be immediately profitable to the Liberians than that of cotton, and yet he thinks well of the prospects of the latter, since he urges that seed and gins should be sent out for their use. Mr. Newnham, answering a series of questions which the Association had distributed widely in possible new cotton fields, gives more encouraging views. He says that although the Liberians themselves neither grew nor wove cotton at all extensively it was both cultivated and woven more largely in the native country of the interior. Cotton of the indigenous, perennial description was produced to some extent in Liberia, and he was of opinion that if they were supplied with superior seed they would gladly take to its cultivation.

An important effort was made in 1859, to encourage the growth of cotton in the Gold Coast territory. An association was formed under the title of "The Agricultural Society of the Eastern Districts." Prizes were offered for the growth of cotton at the rate of twenty shillings for every 100 lb. of cleaned cotton produced, and the sale of it was guaranteed at the rate of 1*d.* per lb. Subsequent records show that a considerable measure of success attended the operations of the Society although there are no means of presenting it statistically.

On one point, however, the *West African Herald*, of 1st March, 1860, expresses an opinion adverse to the introduction of exotic varieties into the Gold Coast country, which it will be useful to note for the consideration of those who may take up the enterprise of promoting the growth of cotton there. "We are very desirous," the circular runs, "to impress upon the minds of the members of our Agricultural Society, as well as all persons who are growing cotton, that they must positively abstain from planting any American or other foreign seeds. These have been tried over and over again, and nothing but failure has been the result. In 1851 a very large cotton plantation was formed at Napoleon, near Cape Coast, on which a great deal of money, care and time were expended. The late Mr. Samuel Bannerman had a still larger plantation at Winnebah, and others again in the Bush. He bestowed very great attention on these. The

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proprietor of this journal spent all his means, and all his time in the cultivation of cotton at Winnebah during the years 1851 and 1852. All these plantations apparently flourished at first The trees were beautiful, and within six months gave forth an extraordinary abundance of fine large pods." The writer then goes on to say that the cause of the disaster which destroyed his hopes of a crop was insect pests, and this happened to plants raised from American seed. The native plant, he continues, is hardy, it flourishes in any soil, and it yields most abundantly. He adds that in the garden of the house occupied by the agent of Messrs. Swanzy, presumably at Accra, there are several native cotton trees which have been there, yielding a good deal of cotton without any attention, and growing in "wretched soil."

These remarks, coming as they do from one who has had unfortunate experience in cotton planting in West Africa, are no doubt impressive. Since they were written, however, means have been devised for dealing pretty effectually with these insect parasites. The knowledge of such means and of the method of applying them are evidently indispensable to the successful growth of exotic varieties there, and this unfortunate experience in the Gold Coast country is adduced only for the purpose of emphasising the importance of providing the cultivators of exotic varieties with the skill and the materials required for dealing successfully with insect pests.

What has been the result of all the enterprise and the expenditure of money, of which even the *Reporter* gives but an imperfect notion, in trying to establish the cultivation of cotton in West Africa, more than forty years ago? Unfortunately the statistics of exports from the coast and those of imports of West African cotton to the United Kingdom afford but very imperfect means of estimating it. From 1859 to 1862 the imports are apparently all entered as from "West Africa." In those four years the entire quantity thus recorded was only 8,712 cwt., equivalent to 2,440 bales of 400 lb. each. Then follow two years in which apparently no cotton was received from that part of the world. It is probable, however, that not only in these two years, but also in the previous four years, and even subsequently, some West African cotton was entered

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among the miscellaneous receipts as from "Other countries." In the five years 1866–70, the quantity from West Africa is stated to have been 26,844 cwts. or 7,516 bales. But within the same period there occur also for the first time records of the quantity imported from the Gold Coast. This was 45,039 cwt. within the five years, or 12,611 bales of 400 lb.

These figures, if they are anything like an adequate representation of the fruits of the labours of our predecessors in the stimulating times of the cotton famine, are certainly at first sight not very encouraging. But circumstances have altered very considerably in the interval. The growth of cotton in West Africa is and must be mainly carried on up-country, and until recent years transport thence to the coast has always been highly expensive. Railways are now carried a fair distance into the interior and they will be extended. The opportunity seems to have come to set about the establishment of an important service of cotton supply for our mills in that part of the world under conditions vastly more favourable than those which existed forty years ago. The political settlement of the hinterland also, though by no means completed is much further advanced toward the securing of orderly government and other encouragements to peaceful and regular industry than it was then. It is probable that at this moment, less cotton is grown in West Africa than in the period from 1860 to 1870. At all events the quantity now coming to the coast for shipment is a mere trifle, notwithstanding the better means of transport. Probably this fact may be attributed to the much larger supplies of manufactured cotton goods now sent to West Africa. Even thirty years ago it was found that these goods were penetrating more and more into the interior, and that the native handloom weaving was beginning to decline, and the change has made great progress in the interval. What more natural than that the growth and gathering of raw cotton should decline with it?

There is, however, every reason to believe that, if suitable means are adopted to that end, the cultivation of cotton in Lagos, in the Niger territories, in the Gold Coast, and even in Sierra Leone, as well as in Liberia, is capable of very great extension, and that substantial, and perhaps large supplies of

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it may be drawn hither for the use of our spindles and looms with profit to all concerned. The first requisite is the supply of gins and the instruction of the natives in their use, as well as the organisation of buying agencies, or some equally effective mode of enabling the growers and ginners to find a ready market for their cotton. It will probably be found advantageous, at first to encourage regular cultivation from native seed, and afterwards to discover, by experiment, whether or not the production can be improved and increased either by the planting of exotic seed, or by hybridisation. Native cotton, when properly ginned compares very favourably in length and strength of fibre with American, and in these respects it is vastly superior to Indian. Upon the question of cost of production we have not much exact information, but if the statement of Mr. Campbell already referred to, that in 1858 Yoruba cotton could be laid down in Manchester at 4¼*d.* per lb. was correct, its cost to-day should be very much less. Indeed so long as American Middling continues to command over 4*d.* per lb. it is not extravagant to hope that with modern means of cheap carriage there will always be room for the realisation of a profit on West African cotton, if proper means be adopted to encourage its growth and to bring it to market.

ELIJAH HELM, M.A.

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ISLAM IN WESTERN SOUDAN

THERE is at the present moment probably no question of deeper practical interest to the European Powers, who for political and commercial objects have partitioned Africa among themselves, than the question of Islam in Soudan, both Eastern and Western. The elaborate Report of Sir Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, presented to Parliament in February, 1902, is almost of pathetic interest, considering the vastness of the area and the multitudinous Muslim population under his rule, and having regard also to the slender outfit at his command for administrative work. Public attention, in a most unusual degree, has been attracted to that important region, recently brought within the British Empire.

Civilisation, within the last fifty years, has advanced with rapid strides, and the solidarity of humanity is being more and more recognised. Religion and race are ceasing to be barriers between man and man. "The steamship and the railway, and the thoughts that shake mankind," are annihilating distances and reducing differences and distinctions between communities alien to each other and living in various climes and countries.

The AFRICAN SOCIETY is an offspring and illustration of the spirit of the times. So far as Africa is concerned, Miss Kingsley, whose memory it commemorates, has created a new standpoint for European thought. She has made it possible for African conditions, whether intellectual, social or religious, to be studied by outsiders with patience and without prejudice; and the impulse she has given in that righteous direction will never be spent, because if the human intellect in its investigations can only be made to hold the scale with steady hand, whatever the interests involved, it will arrive at knowledge which will act at once as guide and stimulus to further research; and the more

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men can be made to look at new and fresh landscapes in the intellectual as in the physical world, the more they see, and the more they see the more they desire to see.

It is with these views that I venture to invite the readers of this Journal to a consideration of the question of ISLAM IN WESTERN SOUDAN. It is not possible to fix the exact date when that irrepressible faith first entered this portion of Africa; and for the purposes of this discussion a knowledge of that chronological fact is not indispensable. It is sufficient to know that it has behind it in those vast regions a history of centuries. It is an agency which, operating for at least a thousand years in this land, has been the most effective instrument in moulding the intellectual, social, and political character of the millions whom it has brought under its influence; and yet, in its particular work in Soudan—the special phases it presents—it has rarely been studied by the foreigner with anything like insight or thoroughness.

The generality of European writers on the subject take it for granted that there is no need for giving special attention to Islam in Africa, for it must only be an imitation if not caricature of Islam in Arabia, just as they allege that Christianity among negroes must always be of a degenerate quality.

At the "Parliament of Religions," held in Chicago in 1893, there were no representatives of Negraic Mohammedanism to tell the story of their faith. Two years ago, an Ecumenical Missionary Conference was held in New York, at which there were delegates from every part of the mission field, and all the contemporary religions of the world were discussed in their effects upon their votaries. But no information was given as to Islam in Soudan. No fewer than one dozen speakers, Missionaries and Secretaries of Missionary Societies, dealt with the general question, but no one attempted to describe Islam as it exists in Negroland. A great deal was said of Africa and a great deal about Mohammedanism, but of Mohammedans in Soudan almost nothing, because no one in that vast gathering knew anything about it at first hand, and very few at second hand.

As at present advised, I know of only two books in the English language which, written by foreigners, have attempted to deal with Islam in Soudan. They are Arnold's *Preaching of*

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Islam,[1] and Atterbury's *Islam in Africa*,[2] and both these writers confess to having written at second hand. Mr. Arnold is professor of philosophy in the Anglo-Mohammedan College at Aligarh in India. Dr. Atterbury is pastor of the Park Presbyterian Church in New York. In his preface Professor Arnold says: "I can neither claim to be an authority nor a specialist on any of the periods of the history dealt with in this book." Dr. Atterbury, in opening his preface, says: "Perhaps the writer was the better prepared to undertake this investigation from some personal observation of Mohammedanism in India, Egypt and the Turkish Empire."

I cannot but sympathise with these courageous writers in the difficulties which confronted them at the outset of their inquiries. They had never themselves been in Africa, and it is presumable had never conversed with any intelligent Negro Muslim on the subject of his faith. Prof. Arnold allows his readers to see both sides of the question. He presents the arguments for and against Islam in Africa without drawing himself any damaging conclusions. Dr. Atterbury produces an array of statements which he takes to be facts, and from these arrives at the conclusion that Islam in Africa makes, on the whole, for evil and not good. He assumes that "Islam in central Africa is little more than a slightly modified fetichism."[3] And he has had followers in this view among his countrymen. Mr. Frederic Perry Noble of Chicago adopts this opinion in his voluminous work on *The Redemption of Africa*,[4] and reproduces the statement made thirty years ago in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* "that all Musulman Negroes who have read the Quran can be accommodated in the waiting room of Euston station," and "that the priests themselves cannot distinguish between 'mumpsimus' and 'sumpsimus' when they jabber, and do not attempt to understand other Arabic books."[5] Mr. Noble did an enormous and creditable amount of work in journeys to and fro, in advertisements, in correspondence and other literary effort to qualify himself to become an authority on "The Redemption of Africa." He did everything but *travel in Africa*.

[1] Constable, London. [2] Putnam's Sons, New York and London.
[3] *Islam in Africa*, p. 149. [4] Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago.
[5] *The Redemption of Africa*, vol. i. p. 73.

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His whole book is, therefore, a striking illustration of the sentiment from Emerson prefixed to his "Author's Note." "Our books are false by being fragmentary." I may say, in passing, my own experience, and I may venture to add, the experience of numerous competent travellers in Soudan—including Barth, Thomson, Binger, Dubois, Chevallier—English, German, French, does not confirm the general description of Islam given by Atterbury and Noble. There is, however, on the part of Dr. Atterbury evident earnestness and sincerity; while he never hesitates to call what he thinks a spade a spade, he seems always disposed to acknowledge the merits of what he believes to be genuine metal. He never calls Mohammed an impostor or a false prophet. On the contrary, in his opening chapter he says of "the Great Arabian"—"He was a true prophet; rather he was a prophet of some truth." In this he differs from the eminent student and scholar who introduces the book. Dr. Ellinwood, to whom one must always listen with respect, speaks of the "pettifogging character" of the Koran. The doctor for the moment probably lost sight of the fact that it was not the Koran he had read, but a *translation* of the Koran, two very different things.[1] I am glad that Dr. Atterbury, who represents the younger school of theological thought, is an American of high social and literary standing, because there are millions of people in his country who have a practical interest in this great question; and he is himself a descendant of philanthropists who did a great deal to establish and foster the Republic of Liberia, and to give to the Negro an opportunity in his own fatherland of untrammelled development.

The books of the greatest value on Islam in Africa and most easily accessible are in the French language. The works of Idrisu, Ibn Batuta, Leo Africanus, written in Arabic from 300 to 1000 years ago, have been translated into French and are still standard authorities on the subject. The *Tarik e Soudan*, an Arabic work of Soudanic authorship, which has recently come

[1] "It is, in truth, one of the most illusory of conceits to fancy that, by verbal transference, a correct counterpart is obtained of the idea and spirit of a passage. A translation may be etymologically perfect, and yet no more give the force of the original, than the awkward dancing of a bear represents the graceful pirouettes of the ballet."—*The Mohammedan Controversy*, by Sir William Muir, p. 194.

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into the field, perhaps the most exhaustive on the history of Islam in Negroland, because the work of the natives themselves is not generally known to English-speaking people, and was, until recently, inaccessible through any European language. It is due to the learning, zeal and energy of the distinguished French Orientalist, M. Houdas, that European scholars can now become acquainted with one of the most important works ever produced in Negroland. The eminent Professor, with prodigious labour and complete success, triumphed over almost insuperable difficulties to give us this valuable work in an admirable French translation. "*The Tarik e Soudan*," says M. Dubois,[1] "is conceived upon a perfectly clear and logical plan, according to the most correct rules of literary composition . . . . It forms, with the exception of the holy writings, the favourite volume of the negro, and is known to the furthest extremity of Western Africa, from the shores of the Niger to the borders of Lake Chad. Barth discovered fragments of it at Gando, and I heard it spoken of in Senegal."

On the General question of Islam, three works since the publication of Muir's *Life of Mohamet* in 1858 have influenced the judgment of the present generation of European students of the subject, and have furnished them with a new, more accurate, and more fruitful point of view than had ever before prevailed in Europe. These works are: the remarkable articles on "Mahomet" and "The Great Arabian" by Mr. Meredith Townsend in the old *National Review;* the article on "Islam," first published in the *Quarterly Review* and afterwards in the *Literary Remains* of Emanuel Deutsch; and *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* by Bosworth Smith. All writers on the subject during the last thirty years—the most belated critics—whether conscious or not—have been more or less under the restraining or stimulating guidance of these works.

I will now say a few words on the faith itself as understood by its intelligent Negro adherents, and then on the practical consequences of their belief upon character and conduct. I have been in close contact with the system and its teachers during the last thirty years, both officially as diplomat representing the British Government, making treaties with Islamic chiefs or as

[1] *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, pp. 312–315.

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Educator establishing schools among them. I have discussed religious questions for hours with their Ulemas, Foulahs, Mandingoes, Yorubas. I have studied African compositions both in prose and poetry, bearing upon the *Deen*, as they love to call Islam.

The *Kalimah*. According to the best informed representatives of the faith in Negroland, the seven words of the Kalimah, or fundamental creed of the religion, are much misunderstood by Christian writers on the subject. The words of the original are

لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اَللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اَللّٰهِ

La ilaha ill Allahu. Mohammad rasul Allah.

Mr. Gibbon, whom probably the majority of Christian students follow, describes Islam as follows:

"The faith which, under the name of Islam, Mohammed preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction: That there is only one God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God."[1]

Gibbon was entirely mistaken in regarding the faith as "compounded." It is this that has misled all who follow his guidance. Even writers acquainted with Arabic have surrendered their judgment to the witchery of his grandiose periods. As far as we can gather he was not acquainted with Arabic. His estimate of Islam was to a great extent the result of the imaginings of early youth. "Before I was sixteen," he tells us in his autobiography, "I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and the Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardour urged me to guess at the French of d'Herbelot and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock's *Abulfaragius*." Macaulay speaks of "that unpleasant trick, which Gibbon brought into fashion, the trick, we mean, of telling a story by implication and allusion"[2] And yet he has wielded for more than a century an irresistible spell over ardent and generous youth. Mr. Perry Noble says in a note, "Imperial Gibbon's grand style may have unconsciously influenced the author of these volumes. If so, he would be fain to acknowledge his indebtedness in the words of Dante to Vergil: *Thou art my*

[1] *Decline and Fall*, chap. l. [2] *Essay on Hallam.*

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master and the author of my style.[1] But students do not nowadays go to Gibbon either for "style" or opinions about religion, It is difficult to understand what he could teach bearing upon the "Redemption of Africa."

Dr. Atterbury gives what he believes to be the doctrine of Islam "from the highest authority in the world," the Sheik-ul-Islam.[2] In giving the Kalimah the translator misrepresents the words of the original, adopting the usual phrase, "there is only one God, and Mohammed is His prophet." We can sympathise with Dr. Atterbury when Dr. H. U. Wertbrecht, a Church Missionary in India, and long resident in Mohammedan lands, makes the astounding statement that in Islam "God and the prophet are coupled together as objects of faith."[3] The most elementary knowledge of Islam should have prevented so gross an error. According to African Muslims the idea is in the last degree blasphemous. But Mr. Townsend in his article on "Mohamet"[4] expressed a somewhat similar view, pardonable half a century ago, but inexcusable now in a writer of Dr. Weitbrecht's exceptional opportunities for learning the truth. Mr. Townsend said: "The crime of Mohamet consists not in putting forth his commands to do justice and love mercy as the word of the Lord, but in asserting that he could never speak anything except that word."[5] Lord Houghton is more accurate. He says: "The humility of Mohammed in all that concerns his personality is conspicuous throughout the Koran. 'I do not say unto you, that in my possession are the treasures of God, nor that I know what is unseen; nor do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel,—I only follow what is revealed to me.' Sura vi–50. 'Mohammed is nought but an Apostle; other Apostles have passed away before him.' Sura iii–138. Nor does Mohammed even attribute to himself any specialty of nature such as he gives to Christ, whom he declares to have been born of a Virgin by the Spirit of God."[6]

Professor Arnold also represents the creed as one sentence.[7]

[1] *The Redemption of Africa*, p. xv. [2] *Islam in Africa*, p. 19.
[3] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Nov. 1899. [4] *National Review*, July, 1858.
[5] I see that this sentence has not been reproduced in Mr. Townsend's able article on "The Great Arabian" in his interesting volume on *Asia and Europe*.
[6] *Poetical Works*, vol. i. p. 182. [7] *Preaching of Islam*, p. 336.

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He speaks of the "first half" of it and the "second half," and connects them by a copulative conjunction thus: "There is no God but God *and* Mohammed is the Prophet of God." But an accurate version would be "There is no God but *the* God," the Being whom or which all nations and races unconsciously worship. I say unconsciously, because none really know Him whose name, as Malachi says, "is great among the nations, and to Whose name in every house incense is offered and a pure offering"[1]—

> "Father of all! in every age,
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!"

—the Lord, according to the opening chapter of the Koran, of the three worlds, the Merciful, the Compassionate, whose tender mercies are over all His works, rational and irrational; "Who maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

The distinction between the two words translated God in the Kalmah is not to be indicated by merely writing the second word with a capital G. There are no capital letters in Arabic. The distinction is marked by the use before the second word of the definite article, which disappears in the ordinary translation. Mr. Muir[2] translates ALLAH by *the* LORD, retaining the article but departing from the radical signification of the word, unless we are to understand by "the Lord" the idea expressed by *Yahveh*, which would not be far from that intended by Al-ilah or Allah the God, the only Adorable One.

To translate, as is the common practice, "There is no God but God *and* Mohammed is His Prophet" is to introduce the anthropomorphic idea so strongly and everywhere repudiated in the Koran. The ideas conveyed in the two sentences are, according to African Muslims, unapproachably separate, and they can be connected by no conjunction either copulative or adversative. No pronoun representing the Supreme Being is admitted. There is no *His* and the word which describes Mohammed is not Prophet but Apostle—Messenger.

A correct translation of the second sentence of the Kelmiah

[1] Malachi, i. 11. [2] *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii., p. 84.

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would be, "Mohammed is *an* Apostle of God," not *the* Apostle. The noun *rasul*, Apostle, has no article. Lane, than whom there is probably no higher authority, translates "Mohammed is God's Apostle."[1] Mohammed is related to have said that there were 124,000 Prophets and 313 Apostles or messengers.[2] The Apostle may include the Prophet but the Prophet never includes the Apostle. Mohammed did not arrogate to himself, as some Christian controversialists and many Muslim commentators strive to make him do, the position of the *only* prophet or messenger of God. Nor did he teach, as some theologians among his countrymen try to assert for him, that he was the *last* of the Prophets in the sense of the limitation of Divine communications to him and those before him. The passage of the Koran on which the latter assumption is based is Sura xxxiii. 40. "Mohammed is not the father of any man among you, but an Apostle of God and a *seal* of the Prophets." The supporters of the opinion of the finality of Mohammed's revelations interpret *seal* as implying the closing for ever of the door of revelation, to be opened no more. On the other hand, there are those who interpret the word in the light of numerous other passages in the Koran, where Mohammed is called confirmer, corroborator, Amen sayer, to the teachings of preceding prophets, just as the seal is attached to legal instruments in testimony of the good faith of what has gone before, a theory which does not exclude the idea of Prophets and Apostles *after* Mohammed. The term *musadiqun*, corroborator, is also applied to Jesus and other prophets. The phrase "seal of the prophets," applied to Mohammed occurs only once in the Koran; and he is called *a* seal, not *the* seal as generally translated. Many Muslim writers in letters and more formal documents, instead of following the complimentary references to the Prophet by the phrase *la nabi ba'ād hu*, "after whom there is no prophet," use *Alkhatimu lima sabaka*, the seal of what has gone before.

Mohammed then is, according to the teachings of the Koran, a Messenger, one of the Messengers, of the Supreme and Universal God. The Faith of Islam is neither Henotheism nor Sacerdotalism. It is not the worship of one God, as exclusively the God of the Arabs, adapted to and preferable for Arabia to

[1] *Modern Egyptians*, chap. iii. [2] *Mischat-ul-Masabih*, book xxiv. chap. i.

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all others, in the sense in which Cicero said, "Every State has its own god, and we have ours;" or as Elohim was at one time regarded by the Jews. Islam is monotheism, not only as contrasted with polytheism, but also as expressing the idea of universal, unapproachable, incomparable, and solitary supremacy. It is the worship of a Being without name or place or sex, not to be defined by human speech—the altogether Unknown. The Naza miyah sect of Muslims[1] believe that it is lawful to speak of the Almighty as a thing, *shai.* Paul spoke of "that which (the thing which) ye ignorantly worship." "The Power that makes for righteousness" is Arnold's well-known phrase, not *who* makes, etc. The anthropomorphic tendency would change the *which* in the Lord's Prayer to *who* to agree with its antecedent *Father*—a male Being. This would probably be correct grammar, but, I venture to think, not sound science or philosophy. Science begins and ends with agnosticism. The process is, *Non scivi, non scio, non sciam.* I did not know, I do not know, I shall not know. To call a man distinguished for his knowledge a scientist or scientific man is from his standpoint a description of the *lucus a non lucendo* kind. "I suppose," said Darwin, "I must write myself down as an Agnostic." The Divine revelations, according to Islam, have no prescriptive or exclusive channels; no class are special intermediaries for the conveyance of Divine truth to mankind. No place is the chosen spot for the Divine teachings or worship.

The essence of the creed is not to be judged by the utterances of its ordinary votaries. There is a native dogmatism in human nature caused by fancying for one's self or one's teachers a private monopoly of God. Hence there are Mohammedans, as there are Christians and Jews and Buddhists, who, inferior to the true teachings of their creed, cannot believe that God is where He is not reached by such paths as those they have been taught are the only paths that lead to Him.

All earnest students of Islam must recognize the justice of the following indignant and energetic criticism recorded by Mr. Townsend in 1858 and reproduced in 1901:—

"The living law of Mohammedanism is not to be found in the Koran, but in the commentators—a set of the most vicious

[1] Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 568.

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scoundrels who ever disgraced humanity, whose first object seems to have been to relax the plain meaning of the original edicts as far as practicable."[1]

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, a higher authority, at least a later witness than Mr. Townsend, says:

"A large part of what Muslims now believe and practise is not to be found in the Koran at all . . . . . For ourselves we prefer the Koran to the religion as it is now practised, and we are glad to think that we do not owe all the results of modern Islam to the sacred book on which it is supposed to rest. There is a peculiar simplicity about the Koran. . . . . It is the broken utterance of a human heart wholly incapable of disguise; and the heart was that of a man who has influenced the world as only One other has ever moved it."[2]

Whenever I refer educated African Muslims to frequent discrepancies between the teachings and examples of the Arabs and the plain doctrines of the Koran, they invariably reply in the language of the Koran itself (Sura ix–98):

الاعراب اشدّ كفرًا ونفاقاً

Al-Arāb ashad kufran wa ntfākan.

"The Arabs are most stout in unbelief and hypocrisy, and are more likely not to know the bounds which God has sent down to His Apostle."

This passage has protected the Soudanic Muslims against undue reverence for the Arab and armed him against imposition from the wiles of the unscrupulous among the countrymen of the Prophet.

Mr. Lane Poole indirectly furnishes another proof of the sincerity of the Prophet of Islam in the remark that "Mohammed in part destroyed the Arab when he created the Muslim."[3]

So again, when African Muslims are approached on the subject of surrendering their religion for that of Europe, they refer to the various sects and divisions of the "People of the Book," in which phrase they include Christians and Jews, quoting again the words of the Koran (Sura ii. 107):

"The Jews say, 'The Christians rest on nothing'; and the Christians say, 'The Jews rest on nothing.'"

[1] *Asia and Europe*, p. 211. [2] *Studies in a Mosque*, pp. 167, 168.
[3] *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 33.

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They are thus protected against undue ascendency among them of either Arab or European peculiarities.

Having endeavoured to define the two fundamental articles of the Muslim creed as expounded by its African professors, let us now see how far Mohammed's teachings agree with the belief of Christendom as expressed in the Apostles' Creed. I have frequently discussed this Creed with African Muslims. Take the clauses separately;

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."

Excepting the word "Father" Mohammedans accept this.

"And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord."

This they believe, excepting the words *His only Son.*

"Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate."

This they accept.

"Was crucified, dead and buried. He descended into hell: the third day he rose again from the dead."

This they reject on Koranic authority. Sura iii. 47, 48.

"He ascended into heaven."

This they believe.

They reject what follows down to the word "dead."

All the remainder, beginning with "I believe in the Holy Ghost" they accept *ex animo.*

With regard to the miraculous Birth of Christ, Mohammedans hold much more decided views than many Christians. The Prophet said:

"Whosoever shall bear witness that there is one God; and that Mohammed is His servant and messenger; and that Jesus Christ is His servant and messenger; and that he is the son of the handmaid of God, and that he is the Word of God, the word which was sent to Mary, and Spirit from God, will enter into paradise."[1]

Rodwell thinks that Mohammed believed in the Immaculate and miraculous conception of Christ.[2] If Christ is not called the Son of God in the Koran, he is never called, as he is frequently

[1] *Mishkat-ul-Masabih*, i. 11.

[2] *Translation of the Koran*, p. 155 (note).

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in the New Testament, the "Son of Man." The "Son of Mary" is the only appellation.[1]

On the other hand, the *Times* (June 13, 1902), reviewing a remarkable volume[2] recently published, informs us that "criticism not obscurely suggests that all those elements in the Gospels which ascribe to Christ a miraculous Birth and a Divine Nature are the creation of the Church's reflective consciousness and the product of her adoration of Christ." Again: "It is said to be the case that of all the Articles of the Creed this is the most beset with difficulties in the judgment of our educated youth."

The Koran ascribes the Divine choice of Mary to her purity and chastity (Sura xxi. 92). The positive idea of preference as a reward of virtue is emphasized. In the *Te Deum* it is said, "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not *abhor* the Virgin's womb." This is somewhat modified, I think with advantage, in the Prayer Book of the Catholic Episcopal Church of the United States.

We will now consider the practical consequences of his Creed upon the character and conduct of the Soudanese Muslim.

It brings to him a consciousness of his place as a distinct, rational, responsible individuality, allied to the highest intelligences of the universe, all moving in entire subordination and submission to the one Supreme Will; none by virtue of nationality or race taking precedence in the family of the Faithful. Its invocations are always for the Prophet and his followers. The Prophet and all his people are one. Only God is supreme. Man, according to this system, is above all created beings, and inferior, whatever his worldly position, only to the Creator, who when He had made man commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before the new creature (Sura. ii, 32). But man is in no way allied to the Almighty, nor is he in any way connected with the beast of the field. There is neither anthropomorphism nor totemism in Islam. This creed has wrought upon the Africans as individuals or communities im-

[1] After this, it is surprising to read the following from so eminent an authority as Sir William Muir: "The Coran itself contains no doctrine peculiar to Christianity, if perhaps we except the Resurrection from the dead, and the Life to come; and even these are travestied and cast into the mould of rabbinical legend."—*The Mahommedan Controversy*, p. 129.

[2] *Contentio Veritatis.* By Six Oxford Tutors.

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provements which the system evolved or rather derived in Europe from Semitic teachings is helpless to produce, hampered as it is by the concomitants of so-called civilisation, which as a social or spiritual force are disintegrating and destructive.

Civilisation has its advantages and disadvantages, its privileges and its burdens; the White Man's Burden and the Black Man's Burden. To the African, forced to come into contact with it, the religion of Islam furnishes the greatest solace and the greatest defence. To him it is *praesidium* as well as *dulce decus*. The foreigner never fails to respect him when he presents himself with the badge of the faith of Mohammed.

The religion of Arabia has this feature—that it has been preached to, accepted by, and become the abiding faith of members of all the known races—Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro. Shem, Ham and Japhet, all unite under its banner and speak its language. Christianity has never been able thus to unite distinct and dissimilar races. Ham and Shem have never found cordial and unqualified welcome in its fold, whether Roman, Anglican, or Puritan. Yet its Japhetic professors have assumed that all races outside its fold should not only enter, but are anxious to enter. When, however, through special efforts made to secure them strangers come "from many an ancient river, and from many a palmy plain," they are assigned a back seat. They are not allowed to share in the brotherhood and equality promised. "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further" is the practice, if not the law of the religion. And yet Dr. Weitbrecht, with all the facts before him, deliberately says that "the tribes converted to Islam have entered a blind alley which will lead them a certain distance and no farther."[1]

Will Dr. Weitbrecht tell us why there are as yet no native Bishops in the Church of England in India? The propriety or necessity for such an appointment was suggested by Rev. J. Thomas, a European missionary in India, to Rev. Henry Venn, Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, in 1864. The idea was endorsed both by Mr. Venn and Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta.[2] This was forty years ago; and yet nothing in that direction has been attempted. And it would seem that

[1] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Nov. 1899.
[2] *Memoir of Rev. Henry Venn, B.D.*, p. 322.

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Christendom is getting further and further away from the idea of brotherhood. The remarkable article in the *Fortnightly Review* (August, 1902), on "*Negrophilism in South Africa*," is heartbreaking to the intelligent African, or would be heartbreaking if he were not reassured by the rapidly spreading influence of Islam over his Fatherland. It is said in the *Fortnightly* that at all the missionary centres there is "an increasing perception that not literary training, but training to labour is what is required as the first European lesson to the black man." Again many white Christians are troubled by "the importation from the United States of a Negro Bishop of an African Episcopal Church." "The people will endure no equality of black and white in Church or in State."

In West Africa alone, where the white man cannot live, we have in one single locality three native *Assistant* Bishops, all of the same tribe. One of them, who is recognised by all his people as entirely qualified to be made full Bishop, has the burden laid upon him of raising £10,000, as an endowment fund, before he can be appointed to a position to which every consideration, except, probably, his colour or race, entitles him. Many of his people are discouraged by this condition imposed upon him and refuse to subscribe.

Christ said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel," but from the course pursued by his enlightened representatives, it would seem that the command of the Master is impracticable. If a Negro, or an Indian, or a Chinaman, who has embraced Christianity and has been specially trained to preach by qualified Christian teachers, applies to a Missionary Society to be sent to any station outside the dark races, he is told that propriety or circumstances require that he should evangelize his own brethren; and yet it was from a dark race that Europe received the Gospel; but the moment it crossed the Bosphorus it became racial on the monopoly of Europe. This is not in accordance with the message which Paul, specially sent to evangelize Europe, gave to its people. He told them—what up to this day they seem unable to grasp, even when they profess to be carrying the message the Apostle gave them:—

"As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

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"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus."[1]

But Great Britain does not hold itself responsible for the popular missionary propaganda. Without, probably, having in mind the particular feature of the case we are pointing out, Lord Salisbury, addressing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at the celebration of its two hundredth anniversary, June 19, 1900,[2] said:—

"This is a great occasion. It is a standpoint in the history not only of our Church, but of our nation."

He then added:—

"I am here perhaps rather as a stranger, for I must not conceal from you that at the Foreign Office missionaries are not popular—(laughter)—and that perhaps the Foreign Office may look upon me as rather a deserter in appearing upon your platform at the present time."

The "occasion" *was* "a great one," and the Spirit of God, which Renan calls "the soul of the world," gave to the head of the British Government the word in due season. Referring to the Mohammedans his Lordship used the following weighty and carefully prepared language:

"May I say one word more in the same line upon a matter which touches us more closely, and which is seldom absent from our thoughts, and that is the position which this country and those who represent its moral and spiritual forces occupy to those great Mohammedan populations which in so many parts of the world come into close connexion with our rule? I have pointed out to you how difficult it is to persuade other nations that the missionary is not an instrument of the secular Government. It is infinitely more difficult in the case of Mohammedans. He cannot believe that those who are preaching the Gospel against the religion of Mahomet are not incited thereto and protected therein and governed in their action by the secular Government of England with which they are connected . . . And remember that in these Mohammedan countries you are not dealing with men who are wholly evil. You are dealing with men who have a religion, erroneous in many respects, terribly

[1] Galatians iii. 27, 28. [2] At Exeter Hall.

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mutilated in others, but a religion that has portions of our own embodied in its system. You are dealing with the force which a sincere, though mistaken, theism gives to a vast population. *You will not convert them.* I do not say that you will never do so—God knows I hope that that is far from our fears. But, dealing with the events of the moment, I think that your chances of the conversion of them as *proved by our experience* are infinitely small, and the danger of creating great perils and producing serious convulsions, and, it may be, of causing bloodshed which shall be a serious and permanent obstacle to that Christian religion which we desire above all things to preach, is a danger that you must bear in mind."

In accordance with the teachings of such truly Christian statesmanship, the Foreign Office consistently refuses to allow missionaries to operate at Khartoum, its newly acquired responsibility in a Mohammedan country.

Islam, on the other hand, makes room for all. If a Muslim Negro from Soudan or a Malay from India, or a Chinaman from Pekin, is competent he can be sent on any—the most important mission—in connection with his religion, and he will be invited to lead the prayers in any mosque in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America. A Negro Muslim from Sierra Leone has lately been leading the devotions of English Muslims in the mosque at Liverpool. The Sheikh-ul-Islam of England, Abdullah Quilliam, an Englishman, whose nationality does not debar him from holding that high position in the Mohammedan community, delivered by his faith from racial prejudices and restrictions, has named one of his sons after an African slave—BELAL: a name which, Mr. Townsend tells us, though that of a Negro, is in Asia, through his connexion with Islam, better known than that of Alexander the Great.[1] Sultans and Pashas will take their places in the ranks at the time of prayer behind the black or brown Imam, if only he is qualified to lead or stand before them, as the word means. Mr. Bryce, in his Romanes Lecture, a few months ago,[2] confessed to the inability of Christianity on this subject as compared with Islam. "Christianity," he said, "with its doctrine of brotherhood, does not create the sentiment of equality which Islam does." This is not the fault of Christianity

[1] *Asia and Europe*, p. 185. [2] *Times*, June 10, 1902.

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but of the earthen vessel in which the treasure is contained. An Imperial race is incompetent to maintain the simplicity of the Nazarene, and diffuse His teachings as He gave utterance to them. It is not the business of Imperialism to make *men* but to create subjects, not to save souls, but to rule bodies.

It must have a certain repulsiveness. On its moral side, it must be imperious, with pronounced self-confidence, a certain unsympathising straitness—a pride in itself and an inevitable ignorance of others. It is deficient in spirituality and therefore cannot impart it. Its most successful work for aliens must be on its material side. Well regulated police supervision, technical and industrial schools, hospitals and dispensaries, are its proper and most effective instruments for civilizing and building up backward races.

Islam is the most effective educational force in Negroland. A system of common schools prevails throughout Islamic Africa by which every child is taught to read the Koran in the original and to commit to memory what has been taught. Thousands learn the Koran in this way and thus acquire a familiarity with an immense number of Arabic words, which serve as a bond of union and produce a solidarity of views and of interests which extends from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Equator. And when it is considered that five times a day millions in those latitudes and longitudes repeat in their devotions the same words, it will be seen what a mighty force they form on the continent—Mandingoes, Foulahs, Jalofs, Hausas, Yorubas, and all the vast variety of tribes whose names are not known to Europe, speak each its own vernacular, but when they meet all prostrate themselves before the great Creator with the same words of adoration and self-extinction—*Allahu akbar*, and grasp each other by the hand with the same language of salutation, in the spirit of the watchword of the Koran.

المومنون اخوة

Almuminuna Ikhwatun.

"All believers are brethren." How is Christianity, bearing on its back the burden of its caste prejudices, the liquor traffic, and its ethical intolerance, ever to make way among these people?

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African Muslims live only for Islam. The wealthy ones—and there are seldom any paupers among them—use their means for the promotion of intellectual and spiritual education. I was present in 1894 at the dedication of a magnificent mosque erected at Lagos at an expense of £5,000 by a wealthy native Mohammedan. The Governor of the Colony, Sir Gilbert Carter, presided, and there was present the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Quilliam, appointed by His Majesty the Sultan, Abdul Hamid Khan, to represent him at the ceremony and to invest with a Turkish Order the devoted and patriotic builder.

Six months ago, during a visit which I made to the French colony of Senegal, I saw numerous evidences of the practical interest which the Native Muslims take in Education. One of the largest and most important of the mosques in St. Louis, a two story stone building, 60 by 48 feet, with tiled roof, was erected, I was informed, by private beneficence. Prayers are held in the lower story. The upper story is used for literary gatherings, lectures and discussions. It is surrounded by nine small comfortable dwelling houses, constructed of similar materials, of one story, erected by the same liberal builder of the mosque for the poor, where respectable indigent persons too poor to own or rent houses are given shelter for life. The benefactor, whose name is Ahmad Gouray, I did not have the pleasure of seeing. He had left a few weeks before my arrival on pilgrimage for the second time to Mecca.

The skill of these people in the Arabic language and literature is often marvellous. They not unfrequently surpass in culture their Oriental co-religionists. I have seen Arabs and Moors sit in perfect amazement and as outsiders while listening to the reading and exposition of Arabic books—not excepting the Koran—by Natives of West Africa. M. Felix Dubois says: "The Soudanese doctors were enabled to add the works of their own authors to the books of Bagdad, Cairo, Grenada, which formed the foundations of their libraries. . . . A celebrated jurist of Hedjaz (Arabia) arriving in Timbuctoo with the intention of teaching, found the town full of Sudanese scholars. Observing them to be his superiors in knowledge, he withdrew to Fez, where he succeeded in obtaining employment."[1]

[1] *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, pp. 285 and 302.

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During my visit to Senegal referred to above, through the kindness of His Excellency M. Roume, the Governor-General, to whom I had a letter of introduction from Sir C. A. King-Harman, the Governor of Sierra Leone, and the obliging courtesy of M. Decazes, Director of Native Affairs, I enjoyed exceptional opportunities for studying the situation as it relates to Mohammedans. The chief Government Interpreter, Al Hagg Ahmad Sek, a Jalof, thoroughly educated in French and Arabic, and who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, was placed at my disposal. Among other places of interest this gentleman took me to the Mohammedan Court, over which Alkadi (Judge) Bakai Ba, a Native, presides—a man much above the ordinary size, of splendid physique and commanding presence, severe, though dignified of aspect, with a voice of masculine and impressive strength. He sat at his desk surrounded by Arabic law books printed and in manuscript. He conversed with equal ease in French and Arabic, and in Foulah or Mandingo, with the interpreters, Mohammed Sanusi and Momodu Wakka, whom I took with me from Sierre Leone. His decisions, I was told by the Governor-General, in all civil and religious cases affecting his co-religionists, are final.

Islam in Soudan is propagated by self-supporting missionaries without supervision or emolument from any recognised or directing centre. I have often seen these missionaries in remote and sequestered pagan towns and villages, away from the public eye, earnestly teaching and preaching the Unity of God and the Mission of His Apostle, and teaching children and youth. What these men do never appears in any newspaper, foreign or local, to be brought back to them either in terms of eulogy or of dispraise. There is a spiritual impotentiality, so to say, which cannot be trusted away from conventional incentives and supports. Every mite which it drops into the treasury of the Lord must be inscribed with the name of some individual or sect and heralded to the world. Not so the missionary of Islam in Africa who, strong in his belief in the doctrines he promulgates, acts everywhere on his own initiative; his only support being the words of the Koran, *Ajri ind Allahi*, "My reward is with God." No human praise elates and no human censure depresses him. "Why don't you send reports of your successes to the local

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papers?" I asked one of the active Muslim missionaries at Lagos. "We report to God," was the laconic but significant reply, and he added, with a cynical air, a sentiment something like that expressed in the lines of Metastasio:

> "La gioja verace,
> Per farsi palese,
> D'un labbro loquace,
> Bisogno non ha."

I must confess that whenever I have seen these men at work—and I have frequently seen them—and have contrasted their zealous efforts, their self-sacrifice, their indifference to human recognition and applause, with the timidity, the hesitancy, the helpless dependence upon foreign aid and stimulus of native missionaries of Christianity, something of the feeling has come over me which Renan says was excited in him every time he witnessed the daily prayers of Muslims, "Je ne suis jamais entré dans une mosquée sans une vive emotion, le dirai-je? sans un certain regret de n'être pas musulman."[1]

Islam in Soudan is protective in its influence and permanent in its conquests. When the Muslim missionary has once brought a community within the pale of Islam, it is for ever sheltered from the blighting influence of foreign trade and commerce. This the religion from Europe has nowhere done and cannot do.

All the representatives of His Majesty at present administering the affairs of the West African Colonies agree in their testimony as to the preservative and uplifting influence of Islam.

Sir Frederick Lugard in his report pays to Muslim influence the following compliment: "It has appeared to me that it would be advisable to include in Northern Nigeria any large towns close to the frontier which might become depots for the storage and sale of liquor."[2]

The inhabitants of Northern Nigeria are mostly Mohammedans and they have compelled the Government to legislate against

[1] Ernest Renan, *L'Islamisme et la Science*, p. 19, quoted by Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 339.

[2] See Report of Sir Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner, on Northern Nigeria, published in *West Africa*, March 8, 1902; also Despatch of Sir George Denton, Governor of Gambia, published in *West Africa*, August 2, 1902. Also *Message* of Sir William MacGregor, delivered to the Legislative Council of Lagos in 1902.

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the introduction of liquor by the practical argument of refusing to purchase it.

His Excellency Sir George Denton, Governor of the Gambia, in an official letter to the Colonial Office describing his last visit (January 1902) to the Hinterland says:

"One thing that I noticed on this visit, was the progress which Mohammedanism is making in this part of the world. But a very little time ago the Soninkes were very numerous, as also were the Pagan Fulahs; now every day the Marabouts are increasing, and before long they will number three-quarters at least of the population. This, I think, will on the whole be of decided advantage to the Colony, though the *revenue from the spirit trade*, never a large amount on the Gambia, *will fall off* no doubt, but it will, I believe, be possible to make up the sum lost from other sources."

On the other hand, Sir Matthew Nathan, Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, complains in an official letter dated January 18, 1902, of the drunken and slovenly habits of some of his chiefs who have not yet come under Islamic influence.[1] The *Missionary Herald* (Boston, U.S., August 1902) says:

"It is not many years since the Christian chief Khama removed his residence to Phalapye, for the sufficient reason that he wished his people to be out of the way of the temptations to drink which surrounded them at their old capital. He is to remove again, but for what reason we are not as yet informed. His new station is to be Serone, about forty miles north-west of Phalapye."

It is needless to add that if Khama and his people had been converted to Islam there would have been no necessity for breaking up his home. On the contrary, the Government would have been compelled, as in Northern Nigeria, to prohibit drink.

At the Ecumenical Conference in New York to which reference has been made above, numerous and earnest complaints were made by missionaries of the demoralization brought among their converts by civilization. Rev. John G. Paton, D.D., New Hebrides, Presbyterian missionary, said: "After we give the Gospel to the heathen, and life and property are safe, trade

[1] *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, April 19, 1902.

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follows us, not to uphold the work of God, but to give the natives rum and brandy, which ruin both their bodies and souls."[1]

Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, another veteran evangelist, said, speaking of the Philippine Islands:

"They are under our flag. That means authority, opportunity, responsibility. Under our flag! It is a most terrible truth that that flag, our "Old Glory," as we call it, floats to-night over American drinking dens and American slaughter houses of body and soul in Manila. (Cries of 'Shame!'). Yes, shame! shame! Oh, if it must hang above those drinking hells, then, for Heaven's sake, hang it at half mast."

Every one will remember the fervent appeals of the Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa against the liquor traffic. It is clear to all acquainted with the conditions that, unless Christian missionaries can induce the nations whose citizens they are to suppress the export of liquor to Africa, their labours on this continent will be those of the Danaides, and Islam, keeping immeasurably in advance in its influence, will finally absorb the whole of the intellectual and physical strength of the country.

With Islam Africa is safe at least from physical destruction: with popular Christianity it might share the fate of the North American Indians, Sandwich Islanders, New Zealanders, &c. The Philippines cannot be in the danger of those countries, because Islam has a strong hold upon large portions of the population; the rest are under the conservative influence of the Roman Catholics, under whom, wherever they go, native races are preserved. One of the reasons for this favourable result is given in a recent speech delivered in London by Bishop Hoare of Victoria, that the Roman Catholic missionaries do not evangelize, but occupy themselves with educational work."[2]

Islam in Africa is again and again reproached with backwardness. With contemptuous reference to its so-called "stagnant" condition, the lines of Lord Houghton are flung into its face.

> "So while the world rolls on from change to change,
> And realms of thought expand,
> The Letter stands without expanse or range,
> Stiff as a dead man's hand."[3]

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[1] *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, vol. i. p. 383.
[2] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, August, 1902.
[3] *Poetical Works*, vol. i. p. 164.

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In the case of Africa, we must say "better a cycle of Cathay than fifty years of Europe." Better this "stiffness" than the pliability which has permitted dark races in contact with civilization to "roll on from change to change," till they "rolled" out of existence. This "stiffness" has proved a powerful antiseptic. But the poet adds—

> "The tide of things rolls forward, surge on surge,
> Bringing the blessed hour,
> When in Himself the God of Love shall merge
> The God of Will and Power."

Then will be Africa's time. Meanwhile, she loiters asleep during the march of material progress and political rule.

The charge is frequently brought against Islam in Soudan that it always brings with it fierce hostility to Europeans and Christians. This charge, according to the testimony of competent witnesses, cannot be sustained so far as Negro Muslims are concerned, who are everywhere peaceable, tolerant, and non-political in their aspirations. Captain Binger, who spent several years in Soudan, and has held official appointments under the French Government among Soudanese says, speaking of the Mohammedans of Kong:—

"Ils sont bons musulmans mais tolerants, et il n'ont rien du fanatisme des musulmans foulbé du Maçina ou des Toucouleurs.

Tous les musulmans sont très tolérants; aucun d'eux n'est assez sot pour ne pas prêter une marmite ou une calebasse à un infidèle, comme cela a lieu dans quelques contrées habitées par des Foulbés musulmans . . . . Ils m'ont souvent interrogé sur les différences qu'offrent ces trois religions (qu'ils nomment Mouça Sila, Insa Sila, Mohammadou Sila) entre elles, mais aucun d'eux n'a été assez sot pour me dire que la religion musulmane est la meilleure, *je dois le dire à leur louange.*[1]

M. Felix Dubois, another traveller in Islamic Soudan, whose knowledge of Arabic gave him exceptional advantages for learning the people, says:

"The character of the Soudanese in general is essentially based upon a foundation of goodness and docility, and they lack the elements necessary to produce the savage sectarian so

[1] *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*, par le Capitaine Binger, 1887–1889. Paris, 1892.

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common to the north of Africa and Asia . . . . Contemporary history of the Soudan has, however, revealed frequent fanatical explosions and numerous holy wars. The curious biography of El Moucheïli has disclosed one of the causes of these disturbances, namely, the influence of the Arabian Musulman, which at the present moment principally makes itself felt by the propaganda of the sect of the Senoussi . . . . It is, therefore, through direct or indirect contact with the foreign Musulman of the white races that the Soudanese is transformed into a sectarian, and it is from this contact that we must preserve him in order to maintain peace in the Nigerian countries.

"Finally, and most characteristically, it is not the *pure-bred* Negro among the population of the Soudan who allows himself to be led into holy wars, but it is those people in whose veins the blood of the white races flows, the Foulbés of Berber origin, and the Toucouleurs, who are a mixture of the Foulbé and the Negro of Mali." [1]

Mr. E. D. Morel, in an exceedingly interesting paper published in the *Journal of the African Society* (January, 1902), makes the reassuring statement that France "has broken the power of the *cross-races*, upon whom she is conferring the means of existence without rapine, murder, and slave-raiding, and has made practically impossible the renewal of *jihads* by the Tijaniyah Sect on anything like a large scale." [2]

The Soudanese Muslims are the most loyal of all the natives under European rule. In religious matters they listen for fetwas from Constantinople, not Mecca. They take no part in the dispute about the Khalifate. All roads lead to Rome in the religious ideas of Europe, so in the religious ideas of Soudanese Muslims all roads lead to Constantinople, *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*—Istamboul.

Al Hagg Omar, who waged extensive wars in Soudan in the name of Islam, was a Toucouleur. Samudu or Samory, a full-blooded negro, was an uninstructed fanatic attempting, with a misguided zeal, to spread Islam among Pagan tribes by means of the sword. But in all his conquests he never aspired to ultimate supremacy for himself. At the time of his greatest

[1] *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, pp. 300, 301.
[2] *Journal of the African Society*, Jan. 1902.

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successes, when he was the unquestioned potentate of the whole of the valley west of the Niger, he desired, by a proper instinct, to surrender his country to British rule, and as an earnest of this gave large concessions to the British capitalist, and this not from any cowardly or servile spirit, but because he recognized the destiny and limitations of his race. The pure Soudanese as pointed out by Dubois, do not aspire to, and they know themselves to be incapable of, extensive secular sway. In the colony of Senegal and its hinterland, where there are hundreds of thousands of them, they have no political associations, and no journalism. At St. Louis, where there is every facility for such a thing, they have not a single newspaper, and they are happier for it than their brethren in other parts of West Africa, who rejoice in the advantages and "freedom of the Press."

Another charge brought against Muslims, especially those of Soudan, is that their conception of woman and her place is degrading to her and to humanity. But this charge is brought only by those unacquainted with the facts—untravelled and half-educated people.

I have neither time nor inclination to discuss the question here, so far as Africa is concerned, and to give the results of my own experience. Miss Kingsley has shown that honourable homage was paid to women in Africa, both Mohammedan and Pagan, long before Europe understood or appreciated the question. At the recent celebration of their Majesties' Coronation in this colony, two ladies from the hinterland were received by the Government as Queens in their own right.

With regard to the future of Islam it seems to be a cherished idea with certain European writers that the increasing political subordination of Islam means its disappearance as a religious power. Mr. Bryce in his lecture above referred to, looking at general political conditions, exclaims, "Conceive the difference if Islam were within two centuries to disappear from the earth. The thing is not impossible; perhaps not even improbable." But the symbol of Islam is the crescent not the waning moon. Its political disintegration intensifies its religious force. A writer in *La Dépêche Coloniale*, January 27, 1902, calls attention to this important fact:

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"Par une coincidence inexplicable en apparence mais absolument logique et fatale en réalité, les Etats musulmans partout sont en voie de decadence, d'affaiblissement, de ruine, alors que la religion de l'Islam fait de nombreuses recrues dans les populations africaines et asiatiques. . . .

"Déja la Russie a mis la main sur les sultanats de l'Asie occidentale; l'Egypte, la Tunisie ne sont plus que des protectorats. L'Afghanistan, la Perse, la Turquie, le Maroc ne vivent plus qu'à l'état précaire, grâce au rivalités des puissances européennes qui convoitent leur héritage. Et cependant, l'Islam non seulement subsiste, mais s'étend, fait des prosélytes, gagne des fidèles." *Sic volvere Parcae.*

There is no earthly prospect of the disappearance of Islam from the religious forces of the world. It will continue as long as Roman Catholicism will, as long as cloud-capped towers, gorgeous palaces, and solemn temples remain. Learned African Muslims declare that Asia and Africa are the fated possessions of Ishmael, while Europe and America have been given to Isaac—Abraham's two sons. The Cross, while surrendering to the Crescent the localities which it first consecrated, has opened for itself new fields in the West.

EDWARD W. BLYDEN.

SIERRA LEONE,
September 13, 1902.

NOTE.—The writer of the above is a pure blooded native, and in a letter to the African Society says, "I think it is only fair to Africa to let one of her sons explain what millions of his people really feel and think, whether it conform to or is antagonistic to European sentiment."—[ED.]

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THE POSITION OF BRITISH MERCHANTS IN THE FRENCH CONGO

LONG before France had acquired political rights over the major portion of the West African coast line south of the Gaboon estuary, now known as French Congo, British pioneers of commerce had established regular trading relations with the natives of those parts. Of the British merchant firms who continue to trade in the country up to the present time, Messrs. John Holt and Co., and Messrs. Hatton and Cookson remain—although they are not likely to remain many months longer. The circumstances which have brought about their imminent departure and the disappearance of British trade in the French Congo is the subject of this article.

Scandalous insinuations having been made in certain organs of the French colonial press—which, happily, do not in this instance at any rate represent the best part of French colonial opinion—against the firms in question, a brief word may be said concerning them and their principals.

Messrs. John Holt and Co. is a firm of thirty-five years' standing. The existence of Messrs. Hatton and Cookson dates at least half a century back. Mr. John Holt is not only one of the most enterprising of our merchants, he is a distinguished authority on West African questions, and is the vice-chairman of the West African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. His extensive business in West Africa has brought Mr. John Holt into official relations with all the European Governments having possessions in West Africa, and until the advent of the Concessionaire *régime* in French Congo the relations of this firm with the French authorities of that Colony were as cordial as they are at present with the German authorities of Cameroons

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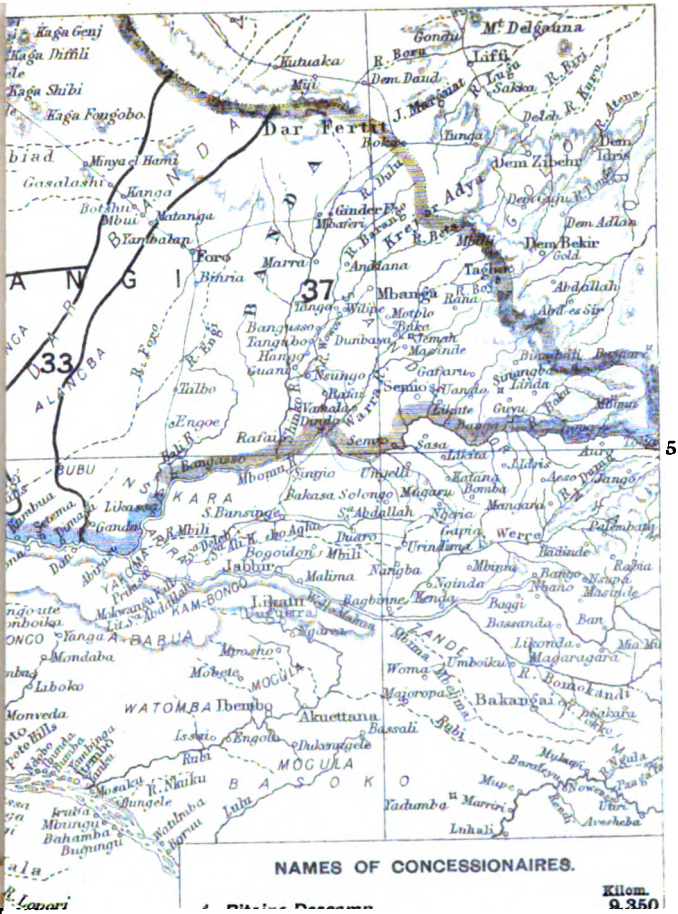
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Bahamba
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Lulu
Yabbi
Woma
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Likonda
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Bagbinne
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Mbuna
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Dem Adlan
Dem Bekir
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are at present with the German authorities of Cameroons

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and other European Governments. Mr. Cookson is also one of the most respected of our merchants engaged in the West African trade, and takes besides an active interest in the municipal affairs of Liverpool, of which city he was once Mayor. Messrs. Hatton and Cookson's advent in the French Congo dates back to 1857, and Messrs. John Holt and Co.'s to 1869. The extent of their business with that country grew with the years, and in time they came to hold the bulk of the trade—their position in this respect being somewhat similar to that of the French merchants in British Gambia to-day, the majority of the trade of that Colony being in French hands. Unlike French merchants in Gambia, however, the English firms had to contend against the most onerous differential duties. To give an idea of the nature of these duties, I may say that goods of British origin were taxed in certain instances to the almost incredible extent of £32, £40, £42, £81, £121, £203, and even £243 per ton, while goods of French origin were admitted free of duty. Naturally our merchants were driven to buy French goods and ship in French bottoms. In the list given on pages 390, 1 and 2 of the semi-official *Annuaire des Colonies* for 1897, we see that out of the forty-eight principal factories given on that list as existing in French Congo, twenty-four belonged to the two firms in question. The volume of their trade was therefore considerable, and the revenue drawn from them by the local authorities through custom dues and taxes of various kinds was proportionately substantial.

Up to three years ago our merchants lived in perfect accord with the French authorities. They resided in French Congo as law-abiding citizens under the French flag, paying their taxes, obeying the regulations, yearly extending and increasing their business. Suddenly the French Government determined upon a course of action which was destined to bring many complications in its train. They divided the territories of the French Congo (see map) among a number of companies—known as *Sociétés Concessionnaires*. These companies, many of which are controlled and financed by Belgian capital, and are closely allied to the groups which have acquired concessions in the *Domaine Privé*[1] of the Congo State, at once started a campaign to oust

[1] See *Journal of the African Society* (April, 1902).

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our merchants from the country. That campaign has continued without respite ever since. The Concessionaire Companies claimed that the raw products of the soil belonged to them, and that the British merchants had no right to exchange imported merchandise of Europe against those raw products; or, stated otherwise, to trade. The entire area of the French Congo having been made over to companies of this kind, it logically followed that according to this view our merchants could no longer trade at all. These pretensions the British merchants naturally declined to admit.

It is important to note that they had not (and have not to this day) received any intimation from the French Government that their position had been in any way altered. They continued to import goods, and to pay duty on them and on the produce exported, and the authorities continued to exact patents and licenses on their many factories and on their native traders. Moreover, they were aware that their *status* was in view of the hitherto universally accepted reading of the Berlin Act perfectly secure.[1] Prince Bismarck in initiating the Congress which resulted in the diplomatic instrument known as the Berlin Act, to which France was of course a signatory, had explicitly declared that "the fundamental idea of this programme is to facilitate the access of all commercial nations to the interior of Africa." Sir Edward Malet on behalf of Great Britain had declared that the "first basis of discussion by the Conference is the freedom of commerce in the basin and waters of the Congo."

Baron de Courcel had been equally emphatic speaking for France; and to show that not the slightest difference of opinion existed on this most vital point on the part of the Signatory Powers of the Berlin Act, Article I. deliberately laid down that "No monopoly or privilege in matters of trade" should be granted in the Congo Basin by any of the Contracting Powers. The "Maritime Zone," in which our merchants were chiefly established, was even specifically mentioned in that respect, so our merchants felt doubly safe, and British trade as well as

[1] With the exception of the Ogowe region which was not affected by the Act. In that region our merchants had been established many years and their trading operations had never been questioned by the Authorities.

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the trade of every nation under the sun seemed as safe in French Congo as international provisions could make it.[1]

It may be well to make clear what Bismarck and other promoters and signatories of the Conference meant, when they referred to "*trade*." The only trade then existing, the only trade existing now, is the same which existed as far back as the XVth century, viz.: the exchange of European merchandise for the natural products of the soil. At the time of the framing of the Berlin Act that trade was in full swing all along the Coast from Sierra Leone to Angola, as it is to-day. Hardly anything but forest products are exported to-day from the same Coast Line—the principal exceptions being cocoa and a little coffee, both of which have expanded from very small beginnings, subsequent to 1884. No other trade was known and nothing but this trade could have been referred to by Bismarck or the other signatory parties to the Berlin Act. It was not until long afterwards that the so-called Congo Free State started the monopoly-concession *régime* in the Upper Congo, where in point of fact no direct European trade was carried out. In the maritime district of the Congo State (Lower Congo) and in the Portuguese territories of Angola the same trade though very heavily taxed still exists. France alone has applied the Concessionaire *régime* to the maritime districts where European trade was in being before she had any political rights there at all.

Our merchants had yet to realise how the simplest and least ambiguous of international stipulations could be twisted by interested jurists to mean the reverse of what was intended by those who drew it up. The Concessionaire Companies speedily made it clear that the Act, so far as they were concerned, was a dead letter, and after some apparent hesitation the French Minister for the Colonies, M. Décrais, endorsed their attitude in a letter—which remains famous—to the Governor of

[1] Many documents could be cited to prove that the French regarded the matter in the same light. A book on French Congo by an official of that Colony is before me at present. In it the following passage can be read :—"Toute la région dont nous nous occupons (le Kouliou et les bassins des fleuves côtiers ses voisins) jusqu'à l'Ogooué est comprise dans cette zône du commerce libre."—*Docteur Voulgre, Attaché à la Mission d'Études du Congo Français.*

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French Congo, in which he stated that the Concessionaires posssesed by virtue of their agreements with the Government the sole monopoly over the products of the soil in their respective concessions, and that the natives could only dispose of those products to the Concessionaires. This decree entailed—if tacitly assented to by the British Government—the death blow to the guaranteed freedom of trade in French Congo, and the disappearance for ever of British trade from those regions. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce at once sent a strongly drafted protest to Lord Lansdowne, subsequently confirmed and adhered to by nine other Chambers of Commerce, and shortly afterwards the petitioners sent a deputation to the Foreign Office. A few months ago, no good having come of the representations made, a further protest was communicated to Lord Lansdowne. It is now understood that the British Government has through our Ambassador in Paris put forward a request for arbitration, which up to the present has not been replied to by the French Government.

Meanwhile the position of our merchants has become desperate in the extreme. The Concessionaires, finding that violence—such as breaking into British factories, forcibly removing the goods therefrom, seizing British produce in the public roads, flogging native agents in the employ of British firms and so on—did not succeed in intimidating the men with whom they had to deal, or even provoking them into the retaliation which was obviously desired, adopted another mode of procedure. They sued the British merchants in the local courts for buying produce off the concessions—that is to say for buying produce at all. The local courts being confronted by the explicit ministerial decree already alluded to had no option but to abide by it, and naturally upheld the Concessionaires. The British merchants were heavily fined, and the contents of one of Messrs. Hatton & Cookson's factories were even sold to meet one of the claims, notwithstanding that the judgment enforcing it was under notice of appeal. In the face of these proceedings the British merchants have been compelled to cable out instructions to their agents to stop business entirely, and have stopped shipping goods from Europe. They are now petitioning the Foreign Office to ensure them at least adequate safeguards for the disposal of their existing stock of goods in

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Africa, pending arbitration. It is indeed an extraordinary and unprecedented position of affairs. The latest information to hand is to the effect that the representatives of one of the Concessionaire Companies has threatened to destroy the factories of Messrs. John Holt & Co. in the particular district affected together with their contents, if same be not removed at once. Messrs. John Holt & Co. have received private information in a corroborative sense. There is nothing to prevent this amiable proceeding from being carried out, for the local courts have throughout afforded no protection to our merchants against violence.

It may be remarked that even so influential and pronouncedly ministerial an organ as *Le Temps* has not hesitated to declare that the judgments given against our merchants by the local courts are purely political, and therefore in no sense sound law. It is evident, says this journal, that in this matter the local courts "*ne puissent faire bonne justice.*"[1] *A fortiori* therefore we can say with *Le Temps* that M. Décrais's last pronouncement before he left office to the effect that the dispute was entirely a private one and had been settled by the local courts in conformity with jurisprudence is not in point of fact "*bonne justice,*" and cannot be the last word in this affair, in which far wider issues are involved than even the ruin of the business of two important and respected British merchant firms, in the Free Trade Zone of the Congo.

[1] The Count Robert de Caix—a well-known authority on Colonial questions—has recently stated in *Le Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française* (the most important Colonial organ in France) that it would "have been better by amicable arrangement, or even at the price of some concessions, to solve at the beginning a dispute which has so thoroughly irritated British opinion." He goes on to say that the dispute is "useless and irritating and that it is essential to make it disappear." Unfortunately this reasonable attitude is the exception, not the rule, and the majority of the French colonial organs continue to treat our merchants to the epithets of "poachers" and "intriguers": and write of their acts (which in all conscience have been mild enough, viz. protesting to their Government when the local courts refused them justice) as "perfidious machinations," etc., etc.

The Map published with this Article shows the positions of the English Establishments.—[ED.]

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IRON-SMELTING AND NATIVE BLACKSMITHING IN ONDULU COUNTRY, SOUTH-EAST ANGOLA

THE country of Ondulu, to one district of which these statements refer, lies three days' journey north of Fort Belmonte in the Bilié country. It is between the River Kwanza and its tributary the Kutato. There is there a mountain range, one mountain of which is largely made up of iron. On both sides of this mountain the ore is obtained by picking it off from its sides.

This locality is the centre of the hoe-making trade for a wide extent of country. There is no large smelting place, but each group of villages does its own smelting at a place selected just outside the village.

The cutting of suitable hard woods and the making of charcoal is done by the men during the dry season, May to September. The women, as soon as their cultivation is over, join the men and boys, and apparently the entire population go in large bands from their respective villages to the mountain for ore. The ore is broken up into small pieces with their axes, and carried in baskets on the head back to the villages, some near and others miles away from where the ore is found. The charcoal is brought from the woods in the same way and deposited outside the villages with the ore preparatory to smelting. When sufficient ore and charcoal has been collected for the trade in hoe-making during the seven months' wet season the men proceed under the direction of leaders, who seem to hold some position of authority in the craft, to construct the kiln for smelting, to make long cylindrical clay pipes to place in front of the wood bellows, and to put the bellows in working order. The kiln is made in this way. A spot slightly inclined is chosen for

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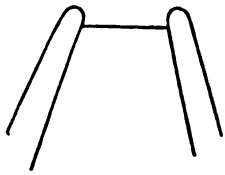
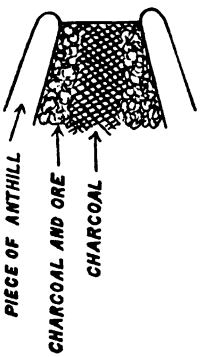
the smelting place. Large flat pieces of ant-hills are gathered and carried thither, where they are stood up on end one opposite to the other; at the top they are slightly inclined towards each other, and are trigged by placing a stick between them thus: A little wall of ore and charcoal mixed together is then built up on the inside of the uprights, leaving a wide space between.



Then another two pieces of ant-hill are placed below next to these first two in a similar way, and touching them; the wall of the ore and charcoal is again built up continuing the first section, and other sections are then added, about ten completing the kiln. The kiln now shows two parallel walls, lined with mixed ore and charcoal, with a space between. This space is next filled in with charcoal, other pieces of ant-hill are placed over the top, the kiln is plastered over the sides with mud, and is then ready for smelting.

The commencement of the working of smelting proper is inaugurated by certain religious rites officiated over by a few prominent leaders in the guild of blacksmiths before referred to who seem to bear the same relation to their calling as the witch-doctors do to theirs, seen in the fact that these doctors are called ocivinda, the ordinary name for blacksmith, but also, and as often, ocimbanda, the common name used for witch-doctor. A large space is cleared around the kiln, and a circle of huts is built outside this in which the men and boys sleep. The remainder of the dry season of five months, after all these preparations are made, is given up to the smelting. It is a rule that no man sleeps in the village, night or day, while the work is going on. All the food and drink is brought out by the women to the men and boys; and the work is accompanied by continual singing of choruses and intervals of dancing. The rules laid down for the conduct of the workers, men and women, seemed to be rigidly observed, and infringement of them entails a serious fine. The smelting is done on this wise. A man places the nozzle of one of the long clay pipes above referred to on the



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ground at the wall of ore and charcoal at the right side of the kiln where they commenced to construct it, and behind the pipe, at the other end, is placed the bellows, the nozzle being close to the pipe. Another man does the same on the left side. They sit thus side by side over their bellows facing the line of the kiln, either on a small stool or on the ground, blowing by a vertical motion of the sticks attached to the skin over the chambers of the bellows. The fire is lit, and the bellows kept going by relays of men, until the dross is separated from the ore, the latter being reduced to a spongy condition only. A boy sits behind each blower, facing in the same direction, and holding him by the arms round the body to support him. When the ore in the first section is sufficiently reduced, the pieces of ant-hill are knocked away, the iron extracted, the space cleared, the clay pipe and bellows moved on to the next section, and so on till the last section is reached. The smelting of a kiln of ten sections, from ten to fourteen feet in length, would be the work of one day. When the whole of the smelting is finished the iron is divided up among the families of the village, and is welded by the smiths into hoes for sale during the wet season. The smelting is the work of the dry season, the hoe-making of the wet.

The smithy is built outside the village over a stone selected for welding purposes. Sometimes it consists of one rough thatched structure, at others two huts connected by a thatched passage way, under which is a large stone for welding upon, the fires being kept going in a hollow in the centre of each of the huts, at either end of the passage way. The blacksmith's assistants sit upon the ground in the huts, keeping the fire up with the bellows, and he, heating the iron, takes it in the pincers to the stone on which he works, moving to and fro between fire and stone.

The set of tools for hoe-making, except the clay pipe to put at the end of the nozzle of the wooden bellows to prevent its drawing in the flame from the fire and thus being burned, may be seen in the illustration. Reading from left to right there is first the pincers, the grasping power being effected by knocking down the ring after placing the pincers over the object to be grasped; 2. the hoe as it leaves the blacksmith's hands; 3. the hoe (an old worn one) in handle; 4. under the hoe a piece of

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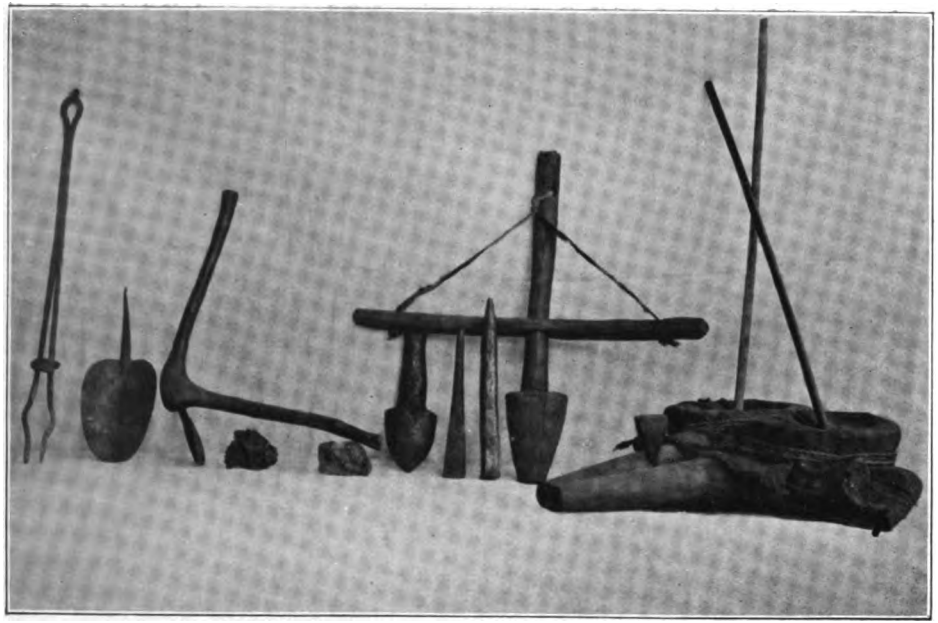

SET OF NATIVE BLACKSMITH'S IMPLEMENTS.

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iron and a piece of ore; 5. the sledge hammer; 6. a tool for beating round and finishing off the edges of the hoe; 7. a lighter hammer for finishing off the body and spike of the hoe; 8. a boring tool used by smiths in repairing guns, etc. (the bit of this is not in position); 9. the bellows; 10. a small anvil (seen between the cylinders of the bellows) placed spike downwards, the top showing. In use the spike of this small anvil is driven into a log of wood, and it is used for gun smithing and lighter work.

These tools are the stock-in-trade of the native blacksmith. The trade is a guild, and is mostly confined to families, and descends from elders to children. It seems to hold a similar position in the eyes of the people to that of the practice of medicine, proficients in both of which branches go by the same name of ocimbanda as aforesaid. The apprenticeship to blacksmithing is long and arduous, but the remuneration considerable, a hoe being worth a fowl or 1s. 2d.

Except in particular cases, the blacksmiths do not work in the day time, but commence in the early hours of the morning, long before cock-crowing, and finish an hour or two after sunrise. One man will make perhaps eight hoes during this time. A hoe can be made in about twenty minutes. After work is done the smith and his assistants sleep during a part of the day.

In using it, the sledge-hammer is grasped in the hand by the handle, the smith standing over his work, and the welding is done by a quick succession of blows over the shoulder. This is very exhausting, and he frequently rests a few minutes. The conical shaped body of the hammer, having a blunt point, will be seen to be quite adapted to the shaping of the hoe which has a groove down the centre from the base of the spike to the lower edge. At the groove the hoe is thickest, becoming thinner towards the edges, resembling the groove formed by the mid-rib of a leaf. The smith in rapidly swinging this heavy tool from a position where it is hanging at arm's length by his side, over his shoulder from behind, while poising himself on the ball of the left foot, is a picture, all the muscles of the right side being finely shown, and not only are

> "The muscles of his brawny arms
> As strong as iron bands,"

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but his right side and leg are as fully developed as his right arm.

The making of the blacksmith's tools is a fetish, with which are connected many interesting rites. The sledge-hammer takes a whole day to weld, and is done by experts; the receiver, who has served his apprenticeship, pays a large pig to the makers. Beer is brewed by the women of the village, a fowl is killed, and its blood sprinkled over the hammer after it is finished. It is then tied on the back of a young girl with a cloth, as a child is tied on by its mother, and thus carried to the village of its owner, accompanied by the chief blacksmith, the others who worked with him, and their relations, and the whole village, singing special choruses for the occasion. This tool is called osoma, the name given to the chiefs of the country, the idea being that it is the provider of the food, for without it there would be no hoes, no cultivation, and consequently no food. The sledge-hammer (onjundo) "feeds" the people, or is their "mother" (mæ).

Again, this onjundo, being conveyed from one part of the country to another, is never taken into the villages, but the owner sleeps with it in the woods. One of the reasons for this is that the onjundo, being personified, and taking rank with a chief, is reverenced, and deference is paid to it according to its rank.

Thus, if a chief arrives over-night as a guest of a village, the women do not go to their fields the next day, however busy they may be, or however much their work may be behind. If the onjundo "sleeps" in the village, they are equally bound to pay it deference, as to a chief, and there must be no field work on the morrow. Honourable compromise seems to be made by the onjundo sleeping with its bearers in the woods, so that the women's field work may not be interfered with.

In connection with the bellows, and the cult generally, there is a fable which runs briefly thus:—God placed our ancestors down by this mountain of iron. They could not tell what it was, but considered it to be different from the ordinary rocks. Somebody made a bellows of clay, then killed a small deer, and tied its skin over the cavities to cause the wind to blow. It would not answer, but broke. Some one else said: "Let us

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make one of wood." So they went to the forest, cut a tree, made a bellows, made charcoal, got some of the stone and put it into the fire, and it got soft. Our ancestors before this cultivated with wooden hoes. They tried then to make an iron one. They succeeded, and that is how we began to cultivate with iron hoes.

Native names of the tools in the illustration :—

pincers	... *omala*	small tool (beater)	... *uveto.*
hoe	... *etemo*	larger tool	... *usonjolo.*
iron	... *utali*	anvil	... *olukata.*
sledge-hammer	... *onjundo*	bellows	... *uyeveyo.*

Examination will show the great adaptation of these tools to the rough work turned out by them; also the considerable native ingenuity in the making of them, and the construction of the kiln, etc.

FRANK W. READ.

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WHAT AFRICA CAN DO FOR WHITE MEN

THE East Coast of Africa rises in successive steps from the level of the sea. Thus Johannesburg, 450 miles from the sea, and the surrounding country is at an elevation of 7,000 feet, after having crossed a ridge of hills which is even higher. The same formation continues more or less as one goes north, and the new East Africa Protectorate shows, with certain modifications, the same formation of land. A railway has recently been made from Mombassa on the coast to Kisumu on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza Lake. The varying elevations above the sea level along the line of railway will best show the character of the country for the 580 miles inland from the sea, which is now a public highway across a country only recently quite unknown.

At the 40th milestone the height reached is 1660 ft.
" " 60th " " " " " 1400 ft.
" " 90th " " " " " 5000 ft.

Here a range of hills is crossed, on the far side of which the elevation is rather lower till the 240th mile, where it rises again to 5,700 feet and from this point to the 340th mile the ground rises gradually to 6,400 ft. At the 380th mile the summit of a range is reached which averages 8,600 feet above the sea, and from this there is a descent into a very peculiar depression in the country called the Great Rift Valley, in which are numerous lakes at an average height of rather less than 6,000 feet above the sea level. This valley is about 40 miles broad, and at the other side of it the land again rises to 9,000 feet at about 490 miles from the coast. This high ridge being crossed, the line descends to the borders of the lake, 80 miles distant, where the elevation of the country is only between 3,000 and 4,000 feet.

The country which lies between the sea and the great lake may therefore be divided roughly, and with a view to its possible

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occupation by Europeans, into high lands and low lands. The Highlands commence at the 260th mile on the railway at the station of Kiu, and end about the 540th mile at the station of Fort Ternan. Roughly speaking 300 miles of the railway track cross these Highlands.

The Lowlands comprise 260 miles from the coast inland and about 40 miles from the lake towards the sea; that is to say, a tract of land at each end of the railway with the Highlands in between.

At the sea shore end of these Lowlands there is a tract of hilly country about 100 miles from Mombassa whose elevation is 5,000 feet, and which possesses a climate in which white men may live and work.

When it comes to a question of white man's occupation, elevations above the sea counts for everything, as the country is but a short distance from the equator, and at the sea level labour for white men under the rays of the sun is impossible.

The low country compares with India, and the climate, unlike that of the western shore of Africa, is healthy; those who engage in the work of administration and trade in the coast towns suffer no greater inconvenience or danger to health than those who perform the same work in Bombay or Ceylon.

The soil produces tropical vegetation but we hear nothing of the palm-oil trees which flourish so abundantly in the same latitudes in West Africa.

The Highlands are more interesting from the point of view of an intending emigrant as they really seem to promise a new land where Europeans can make their homes, live their lives, and bring up families, as is evidenced by the people who have lived there and the robust and healthy children who have been born there in the last ten years.

Allowing for inevitable spells of bad weather, the days are generally pleasant, with a hot sun about mid-day, but a heat which is dry and clear. The nights are always cool and often cold rendering blankets necessary. Even in pleasant and cool weather however it is necessary to take such precautions as to protect the head from the direct rays of the sun, to be careful that food is good and well cooked, to use boiled and filtered water and to avoid sitting in draughts or sleeping on the ground.

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These precautions must be observed in the Neilgherry Hills in India which, with their elevation of 7,000 or 8,000 feet and cool climate, may be compared to these African Highlands but are superior to them in that children seem to thrive better.

We hear little about fever in the reports of this country, and it has been sufficiently proved that, with moderate care in the foregoing particulars, Europeans can live in almost the same way as in England.

The Kikuyu and Athi plains, situated, with reference to the railway, between 300 and 360 miles on the seaward side of the Drift Valley, seem to be especially attractive. Though only recently opened we have the evidence of settlers who have lived continuously there for ten years and brought up families, as to the possibilities of the country for Europeans.

These plains are inhabited by the Wakikuyu and Wakamba, both Bantu tribes, who are agriculturists, and by the Masai who are a purely pastoral people. In the Rift Valley the Masai alone find a residence, from which the character of the valley as a cattle-feeding district may be inferred. The native population however are not very numerous in proportion to the extent of country they occupy, and they have located themselves in areas separated from one another by unoccupied tracts which have left a wide extent of good grazing and agricultural land in healthy climates suitable and ready for European occupation.

In the early days of the Protectorate the natives were hostile to Europeans; but in districts easily accessible from the railway this feeling has disappeared, and settlement in distant regions, where there might be any danger, is not at present allowed. Ill feeling towards white men seems to die down when the natives become accustomed to their presence.

These plains of the Highlands do not suffer apparently from droughts, which cause so much distress in other parts of Africa. Most of the rivers, such as the Athi, Thika, Nairobi, and Morandat, are small, but the streams are numerous, and supply water of good quality.

In the Kikuyu and Naudi countries good timber fit for building abounds, and stone can also be obtained. Timber very suitable for furniture making is available.

Almost everywhere the soil is strong, of a red-brown colour,

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containing iron, and here and there are large areas of loose eotton soil. Experiments have proved that the land will stand successive crops for three or four years without artificial assistance.

Very favourable specimens of wheat and barley have been obtained. Imported fruit trees have proved a great success. The castor-oil plant is indigenous, and the oil made from it of excellent quality. There are several kinds of fibres that have been well reported of. The soil seems peculiarly well suited for the production of potatoes, and the tuber does not deteriorate by its product being used as seed for several years.

Nearly every variety of vegetable produced in Europe grows in profusion, and if the soil can be irrigated, they can be produced all the year round.

Grazing is abundant and good—good enough to make it probable that hay might be exported to India and South Africa.

Cattle thrive in the country; there have been outbreaks of disease amongst them, but of recent years these have been much milder than they formerly were.

Fowls of all kinds do well. Horses and ponies are very healthy in all the Highland districts, and they are free from horse sickness—that plague of South Africa—except in the town of Nairobi itself, where it sometimes appears between March and June. As the country immediately around Nairobi is free from the disease, and as it appears to be unknown in other districts, this is a strange fact, and is not yet understood.

Pigs thrive well, and it is thought that imported woolly sheep would be a success in some districts, but this experiment has not yet been tried.

Game of every kind, including zebras, antelopes, and ostriches, is extremely abundant, and experiments are being made in domesticating the zebra and in establishing an ostrich farm.

The average mean temperature of the country between Machakos and Kikuyu (about 100 miles of railway, including Nairobi) is 67° F. at 9 a.m. and 78° F. at noon, while the nights are much cooler, often down to 45° F. At times the heat increases to 80° F. at noon, and remains stationary till about 2.30 p.m., when it cools down. The average is, however, less.

Europeans can easily work out of doors from 6 a.m. to 10

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p.m. and from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., and on many days in the year work is possible and comfortable all through the day.

The annual rainfall average of six years, including two dry years, is:—Machakos, 34·76 inches; Kikuyu, 36·14 inches; and Nairobi for two years 1900 and 1901, the average rainfall was 43·33 inches. The seasons are divided into wet and dry. The wet seasons vary in length and date, but there are usually two—from November to the end of December, and from March to May; but these dates are not accurately kept, and fluctuate considerably. July, August, and September are generally cold months, but there is not much difference, as the country lies on the equator. We hear little of fever, except that it is prevalent only at certain places in the Lowlands on the coast, notably at Vanga and in the forests near the Tana River, while the rest of the Lowlands seem to be about as free from it as India is, and much more free from it than any part of the west coast of Africa.

Concerning fever in the Highlands the reports are silent, neither do they mention locusts or dust storms, which make their presence so unpleasantly felt in other parts of the east coast of Africa. They are also silent concerning thunderstorms, though it is hard to believe, judging by the elevated land further south, and the reports from lake Victoria Nyanza where they are prevalent, that these do not occur.

The modern method of opening up a new country by making a railway through it is wonderfully effective, and saves years of the old-fashioned methods of exploring and the tedious and expensive transport by means of lumbering waggons and slow oxen, which was in old times the next step in advance of the unsatisfactory process of carrying goods on men's heads in small parcels.

Not more than five years ago the country between the Coast towns and the Kingdom of Uganda was regarded as a savage wilderness, and now parts of this vast region are well known, and have proved to be healthy and fertile tracts suitable for European colonisation. It is, moreover, a country of superb beauty in many parts, a description of which would unduly inflate this plain narrative intended for possible emigrants proposing to seek a profitable livelihood where land is cheap. The

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want can easily be filled by reading the fine and ample description of "What the country looks like," contained in the first chapter of Sir H. Johnston's splendid book, *The Uganda Protectorate*; and no one taking up this absorbing story will fail to read it through, and to pay particular attention to Chapters viii. and ix. of the first volume, which describes the origin of the railway and the commercial prospects of the country; and to the map on page 258, on which is sketched out "The Area of future European Colony" as suggested by the author from his unrivalled experience of these regions.

The railway has not been open for much more than a year, but already, before the majority of people in England have recognised that a new field has been opened to colonising efforts, the town of Nairobi has been established on the best part of the Highlands, a town likely in the future to be a starting point for many a settler.

We are told of it that it has a hotel, the only one as yet in the new country. It possesses also a club, and cricket, tennis, golf, and hockey are played there.

There is also a racecourse and races are held twice a year.

A hospital with government physicians, who may take private practice, and chemists, are among its advantages, and it is so far developed that, according to the reports, almost anything required by Europeans can be obtained.

The town serves the railway to which it mainly owes its origin and contains large works and foundries.

The picture drawn of this new country in Africa represents it in a favourable light, so favourable that a person with any thought of trying his fortune there might be excused for doubting if the description were not too optimistic.

As this journal is established to spread only the best knowledge available, its readers are recommended to test the information here given by applying to the Emigrants' Information Office, 31, Broadway, Westminster, which is under the direction of the Colonial Office, where it may be ascertained that there is no statement of fact in this article which will not be backed up by the officials, and that the information, though it may not be complete, is the most trustworthy, so far as it goes, that can be obtained.

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The same remarks apply to the succeeding observations, which are intended to show the conditions that will meet an emigrant, who, with a due regard to his purse, wishes to exchange the dull climate of these Islands for a brighter and clearer atmosphere a mile and a half higher in the air than the fogs of London.

East Africa can be reached by the British India Company, which runs steamers every month from London to Mombassa, Zanzibar, Beira and Delagoa Bay. The voyage to Mombassa probably takes about twenty-five days.

There is also direct communication by this line between Mombassa and Bombay; particulars can be obtained from Gray, Dawes and Co., 39, Great Winchester Street, London.

The German East Africa Company runs steamers about twice a month from Hamburg, viâ Marseilles or Naples, to Mombassa, The first-class fare from London is about £38.

The Messageries Maritimes line of steamers runs from Marseilles to Zanzibar, to which port the first-class fare is £42. The journey from Zanzibar to Mombassa takes twelve hours, and costs an additional £2.

Particulars can be obtained at 97, Cannon Street, London, E.C.

The principal stations on the Uganda Railway in the Highlands and the fares from Mombassa are as follows:—

	First.		*Second.*		*Intermediate.*		*Third.*	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Kiu .....267 miles.....	50	1	25	1	17	4	8	10
Machakos Road.....276 ,, ...	51	12	25	14	18	0	9	0
Nairobi .....328 ,, ...	61	8	30	12	20	8	10	8
Escarpment .....365 ,, ...	68	7	34	4	22	13	11	7
Naivasha.....390 ,, ...	73	2	36	9	24	6	12	3
Nakuru .....448 ,, ...	84	0	42	0	28	0	14	0
Fort Ternan .....536 ,, ...	100	8	50	4	33	8	16	12

Each passenger is allowed luggage free.

First Class	112 lbs.
Second Class	56 ,,
Intermediate Class . .	28 ,,
Third Class	14 ,,

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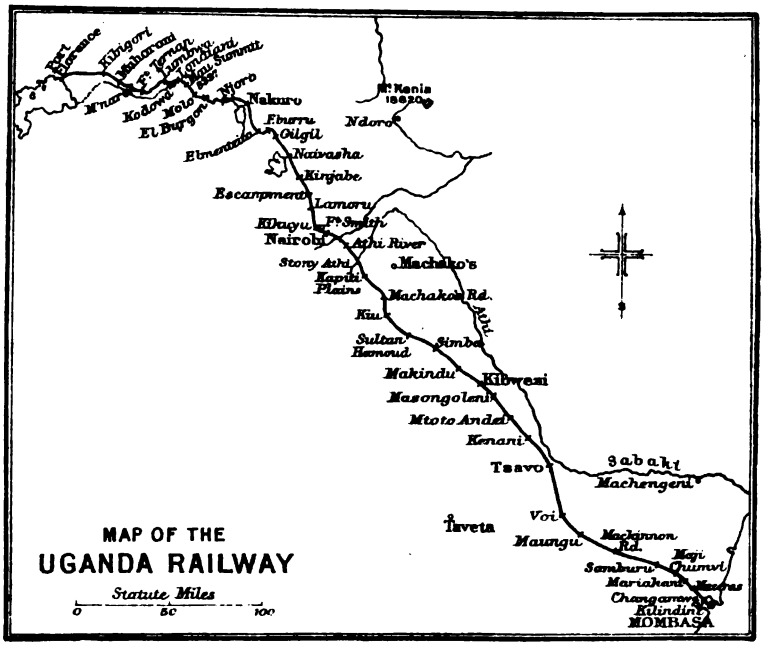

George Philip & Son Ltd. The London Geographical Institute.

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Excess luggage is charged Rs.21 per cwt. to Nairobi and Rs.27 per cent. to Nakuru, but if sent by goods train these charges are respectively Rs.5·2 and Rs.7 per cwt.

Tools, farming machinery, building material, fencing, &c., are carried from Mombassa to Nairobi at Rs.44·8 per ton.

Agricultural produce and most of the down traffic is charged one anna per ton per mile, which works out:

Rs. 33·8 per ton from Fort Ternan to Mombassa.
Rs. 28 per ton from Nakuru to Mombassa.
Rs. 20·7 per ton from Nairobi to Mombassa.

To calculate the above rates in English money the rupee equals 1*s.* 4*d.*, and as there are sixteen annas in a rupee the anna equals one penny.

The Railway Administration have made a cart road from Machakos Road station, 276 miles to Machakos.

They are commencing a cart road from Nairobi towards Mount Kenia, which will traverse a large extent of fertile conntry which will be thrown open to European settlement.

A cart road runs from Nairobi to Fort Smith in the Kikuyu country, and another from Londiani on the Mau Escarpment to the beautiful station called Ravine.

A road is also being made to the south of Fort Ternan.

Letters from England to Mombassa take twenty days and the postage is one penny. There is also a parcel post to the Protectorate and an internal service for parcels and letters within its limits.

By cable to Zanzibar and London telegraphic messages are sent at the following rates:—

To England . .	Rs. 2·10	per word.
„ Durban . . .	Rs. 1·8	„
„ India . . .	Rs. 2·12	„

There is also a telegraph system along the railway to Uganda and along the coast from Mombassa to Lamu, by which eight words are sent for a rupee, value 1*s.* 4*d.*

There are at least four firms in the Protectorate that undertake agency work in forwarding or receiving goods.

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The prices of produce are as follows:—

Beef and mutton as good as the best English meat is plentiful, and the price averages 3¼*d.* per lb. Fowls are more expensive, 1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* each, eggs 2*d.* each, potatoes, 4*s.* for 60 lbs., wheat and flour 1¾*d.* per lb., coffee 2*s.* per lb., tea 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb., sugar 6*s.* 10*d.* for 36 lbs., table rice 2*d.* per lb., Indian corn, millet and red beans 3*s.* 4*d.* for 60 lbs.

Vegetables of all kinds are plentiful and cheap. Milk cows with calf cost from £3 6*s.* to £6 13*s.* Bulls and oxen can be bought for £1 13*s.* to £3 6*s.* each. Sheep (fat-tailed variety without wool) and goats 4*s.* to 14*s.* each.

Donkeys, when they are to be had, cost £1 7*s.* to £3 4*s.* each. Pigs from stock brought from the Seychelles can be obtained cheap. English pigs would thrive well. Ponies can be purchased at Mombassa for about £13, and it costs about £4 to convey them by train to Nairobi. Mules when obtainable can be bought for from £20 to £25.

Fairly good labour can be obtained, especially in Ukamba (between mile 160 and mile 300). The pay is 6*s.* 8*d.* per month, to include everything if they are allowed to return to their own villages at night, but if kept on the farm or procured from a distance, they must also be fed, which costs 3*s.* a month more.

African and Indian servants can be obtained. The wages vary, but a fairly good African house servant gets 13*s.* 6*d.* per month and his food, amounting to 3*s.* per month more. An African cook requires as pay £1 to £1 7*s.* a month; the more experienced and better Goanese cooks from India require £2 13*s.* to £3 10*s.* per month. That some progress has already been made in the country is evidenced by the fact, that there exists an agricultural society which was started in 1901. It has over one hundred members, and a very successful show of vegetables, fruits, economic products, sheep, cattle and pigs, was held at the beginning of the present year.

The East African Protectorate is under the Foreign Office and is administered by a commissioner, under whom are seven sub-commissioners, each in charge of a province, and these provinces are again divided into districts in charge of collectors.

The law is mainly the law of British India modified occasionally to suit local circumstances.

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The revenue comes from an import duty of 5°/₀, an export duty on certain things, of which the heaviest is 15°/₀ on ivory, gum copal and india-rubber, and a few licence fees; guns pay Rs.3 each per annum. A license to shoot all kinds of game costs Rs.150, and a license to shoot birds only, Rs.5. Native labour engaged for more than two months pays a registration fee for each labourer, and licenses are required for certain trades and for the sale of spirits.

There is no income tax or land tax. Land can be bought in lots up to 1,000 acres freehold at Rs.2 per acre, or it can be taken on lease of 99 years at Rs.15 per 100 acres. These rates are increased according to value in the case of land near towns now existing.

Land within one mile of the railway is only leased, not sold, as a rule. Native custom only recognises a right to land while it is occupied; should the owner leave it, he loses all right to it. The Government require all dealings with the natives for land to take place through the Collector of the district, and direct dealings between Europeans and natives are prohibited.

Corrugated iron, planking, glass &c., for building can be purchased from local contractors at reasonable rates. Grass can be used for thatching, but iron is better and cheaper; perhaps a combination of both would be cooler in warm weather and warmer in cold.

Good Indian carpenters can be employed at an average wage of Rs.2½ per day, (3*s.* 2*d*).

Samples of barley have been valued in England at £1. 12*s.* for 448 lbs., and samples of wheat have been classed with Australian wheat. Castor oil beans, from native plants, have been valued in England at £8. 5*s.* per ton. This compares with Bombay seed which is worth £9, and the beans were not cultivated.

Coffee planting is being tried and is likely to prove successful.

There are several native fibres of good quality, and india-rubber vines grow in various places.

For outdoor work the head covering must be of the kind used for protection against the sun. Khaki clothing will suffice, and after 4 p.m. ordinary European clothing can be worn. Khaki suits can be made at Mombassa or Nairobi and cost about Rs.15.

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Farm tools, ploughs and seeds should be imported.

It is always an advantage to have a tent and ordinary camp beds, which can be procured either in England or locally.

The foregoing information relates chiefly to the Highlands, whose climate is entirely different from the Lowlands which lie near the sea-shore, and which are not fitted for the labour of white men; nevertheless the accounts of them are interesting.

Bananas, cocoanuts, oranges, limes, mangoes, pineapples and custard apples take the place of the vegetables which grow so well in the Highlands, and which, thanks to the railway, are available at Mombassa also.

The seasons are two, the north-east and south-west monsoons. The former is from late in November till March and is hot and dry, the latter from April to November.

The lesser rains fall in October and November, the greater from April to July or later. The coolest time is from July to October when the thermometer often falls to about 70° F. in the evening.

The hottest season is from January to April, but even then the nights are cool and the temperature does not rise above 90°F. in the daytime.

The products are ornamental and other timber, india-rubber, gum copal, &c., and the land is suitable for cotton and tobacco.

The populations consist partly of Arabs, who are diminishing in numbers, and partly of native tribes, such as the Wagiriama, Wadaruma, Wadigo, Wasegua, Wapokomo, Wakita and many others who dwell in the woods, but chiefly of the Swahilis, a mixed race whose ancestry is partly Arab and partly African. They are intelligent, fairly industrious, and have some aptitude for trade. They served as porters for caravans going up country, but the railway has taken this business out of their hands, leaving some thousands available for other work.

Indian coolie labour can be had in the towns from 8*d.* to 1*s.* a day of 9 hours.

Tanaland north of Mombassa derives its name from the River Tana, which is navigable for 200 miles, and in some ways resembles the Nile. The country on each side is irrigated from the river for about a mile from its banks, and grows Indian corn and rice, and the inhabitants are fishermen.

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The coastlands extend 10 or 20 miles from the sea; between this and the Highlands is 200 miles of wooded country, sometimes scrub, sometimes parklike land dotted with trees. This zone is very thinly inhabited and quite uncultivated. The chief town is Mombassa, where there is excellent hotel accommodation, and which has a small harbour. It is connected by a tram-line of two miles with the port of Killindini, one of the finest harbours in the world. Both Mombassa and Killindini are on an island.

In the native town of Mombassa are three markets under Government supervision.

Beef and mutton cost about *7d.* per lb., fowls *1s.* or *1s. 4d.*, eggs *1d.* each. Vegetables vary in price according to the season, but are generally cheap. Native boys for domestic servants cost *13s. 6d.* to *27s.* per month for wages, and a cook about *27s.* a month. Goanese from India, who are better cooks, command £2 5*s.* to £4 a month.

These servants require a special allowance, varying up to *1s. 4d.* a day, when travelling.

Good bread costs *3d.* to *4d.* a loaf, and cannot be procured except at Mombassa. Inland the cook should be able to make it.

The cost of living on the coast varies with individual tastes, but an ordinary family can be supplied by the cook, who is generally the caterer, with bread, meat and vegetables from *2s.* to *3s 4d.* per day for one person, but if there are two or three the average is less.

Fuel for cooking, oil, milk and groceries are provided for separately and the average cost inclusive would be about *4s.* per day. Washing is done by Indians or Swhahilis, and the general price is *10s.* per 100 articles (large and small).

House rent at Mombassa is about 35 to 50 Rs. per month, and the bungalows resemble those in India.

Large native houses roofed with cocoa nut leaves can be rented for 10 Rs. per month.

There are government doctors at Mombassa, Samu and Kismayu, who take private practice.

It may be permissible to allude to a possible use of the Highlands of this country not referred to in any official reports, that

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is the advantages it might possibly offer to patients in search of health, especially to those who are suffering from consumption.

It is not very long since living at a considerable elevation above the sea was considered to be a specific in this latter disease, and although this theory has been in part given up, still it is possible that high elevation may still possess curative powers.

Compare the conditions of the country to those of the Highlands of South Africa, which benefited many persons notwithstanding the hard conditions of travel over hundreds of miles in jolting ox-waggons at 2 miles an hour, and the impossibility of getting good servants and decent food which constituted real hardships to weak and delicate invalids and made the country impossible for many cases.

To East Africa a patient would have a voyage of about 20 days, in itself a curative experience.

Arrived at Mombassa, a comparatively short journey of 320 miles by train, and the invalid gets out at a fairly civilised town, 6,400 feet above the sea, or higher than Davos Platz in Switzerland. Within easy reach by rail is an elevation of 8,700 feet, and a road is being made to Mount Kenia which is more than 18,000 feet high. The climate is suitable for life in the open air, and the railway gives facilities for the conveyance of tents and baggage. Food is excellent and cheap. Good cooks can be obtained and Indian servants at a rate scarcely exceeding those prevalent at Bombay, and most of the difficulties of South Africa can thus be avoided.

This might perhaps be worthy of the attention of physicians, who might finds the means of obtaining reports on the conditions of the country. Certainly if such reports were favourable it need not be long before, by means of the railway, every thing necessary for the care of invalids should be available at the most suitable place.

The class of persons who are almost sure to do well in the Highlands of this newly-discovered country are those with a knowledge of, and liking for, agriculture, who have a capital of about £300 and who go out with the intention of making the country a permanent home and of living on their own land, growing and producing products for their own consumption and for export.

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There is no room as yet for persons without means, for, though the climate is good and cool, the sun which shines on the equator does not lose its power altogether at higher altitudes than the sea level, and it is necessary to live in houses substantial enough to protect from the sun and rain, and these houses have yet to be built.

J. G. B. STOPFORD.

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THE NATIVE LABOUR QUESTION IN AFRICA

THE great changes that have taken place in Africa of late years have rendered the native labour question one of most absorbing interest to the Governors of African Colonies and to those interested in the trading and mining industries, the development of agriculture and the future development of the African race.

We think therefore that if it were possible to procure answers to the list of questions we print below, from various parts of Africa, it might lead to a solution of the difficulties which at present exist.

To stimulate our members and others to co-operate with us in this work, it has been decided to award a sum of not less than £5 to the writer of the most accurate and comprehensive answers to the questions we propound and a proportionate sum to any other set of answers of sufficient public interest to warrant its being inserted in the Society's Journal. Of course the Editor of the Journal will decide this and all other matters connected with the answers, and his decision will be final.

It may occur that some of our readers (members or non-members) have special knowledge of some particular point dealt with in the list of questions, in which case their paper would be considered on its own merits.

LIST OF QUESTIONS.

Respecting the conditions of the Native; slavery and its modality; free labour.

1. Does slavery exist in the Country? Describe its principal characteristics.

a. Slaves born in captivity.

b. Slaves by war or by purchase.

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2. In what way do the masters provide for the subsistence of their slaves?

3. Do they keep all the produce of their labours, and what is this?

Can it be estimated approximately?

Do they, on the contrary, allow the slaves a share of it?

Do they allow them each week certain days to cultivate for themselves the necessary edibles and to gather in the natural products of the soil: rubber, gum, etc., etc.? How many days a week?

4. What facilities, if any, are afforded born slaves for becoming free men?

5. Are the masters or local customs opposed to the ideas of liberation? If so, for what reason?

Are Mahomedan or pagan slave-owners more liberal with their slaves?

6. Do slaves born in captivity ever possess slaves?

7. What is the average value respectively of slaves taken in war and slaves purchased?

8. Are there any villages in the country inhabited by born slaves?

What is their organisation? Who rules over them? How do they work? In what way do they remunerate their masters?

Is there a sort of rental or tithe as existed in England during the Middle Ages? in consideration of which these slaves born in captivity have the free disposal of all they produce and gather in?

9. The same question applied to the produce of the labour of those slaves born in captivity who are artisans, smiths, potters weavers, etc., etc.

10. What proportion does free labour bear to enforced labour in the country? A distinction should be made between labour performed by slaves born in captivity and that performed by slaves captured in war or purchased.

11. Do slaves born in captivity seem to have any notion of the advantages of and the desire for liberty?

12. What are the labours principally imposed on slaves?

What are those imposed on born slaves?

What is the ordinary occupation of the free men, women and children?

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13. Is the labour of free men, of slaves born in captivity, and of slaves in the country regular, frequent and sustained, or haphazard, rare and fitful?

14. Is it possible to estimate approximately—

The number of hours per week that these three classes work?

The result of their labour compared with the average agricultural result in England?

15. Are there different times in the year when the natives prefer to work? What times?

a. For the cultivation of edibles?

b. Over and above their usual cultivation?

16. Do the natives prefer to work by the job and as they like, or according to the orders of their masters, if they are slaves, or by the day?

17. Taking into consideration the qualities and defects of the natives, which is the better system for the employer; by the job, or by the day?

18. Do the born slaves and the other slaves obey their masters easily? What authority have the masters over them?

19. Have the village chiefs any authority to force freemen—

a. To work themselves?

b. To compel them to supply their slaves born in captivity or other slaves for the purpose?

20. Are the territorial chiefs (if any) able to furnish a constant supply of labourers for general industrial purposes?

b. Are the village chiefs in a position to supply labourers for general industrial purposes?

21. What is the proportion of native labour per 100 inhabitants, obtainable by these different means?

22. Would the natives willingly leave their villages?

For a few months, or a few years?

23. Would it be to the interest of the employer to utilize the natives on the spot, or to send them from one region to another?

24. Would it not be convenient to allow the natives to return to their villages during the time it is necessary to cultivate the edible fruits?

25. Would it be possible or desirable to promote or encourage emigration of natives with their families for the purpose of being

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engaged on works or in regions far from their own, with a view to establishing new settlements?

26. Are there a greater number of slaves either born in captivity, or otherwise, in the Mohamedan or in the country under Fetich influences?

II. *Respecting the rate of wage.*

27. What is the average individual consumption per annum?

a. Of raw materials.

b. Of goods purchased from Europe?

In short, what does a negro and his family require to subsist on, per month and per annum?

21. Do the natives of the country show any signs of foresight and economy?

Or do they waste inconsiderately that which they have acquired by their labour or otherwise?

29. Are wages paid, or should they be paid, in kind or in cash?

What is the present tendency in the country?

State the reason for it.

Point out the several advantages or inconveniences of it.

Are the wages paid in kind, and with what class of goods?

30. What is the average monthly wage, and for how many working days?

31. What sum may be added to this monthly for rations?

32. Is it possible to compare the result of labour paid by time with the cost, as is done in England?

Example—Does a native receiving 1*s.* 3*d.*, rations included, for ten hours' work (earth work, felling of trees, etc.) give a smaller result than a European labourer would, and in what proportion ⅓rd, ¼th, ⅕th?

33. In short, is native labour at the present time expensive compared with the work done?

34. Could means be employed—

a. To reduce the cost to a normal rate?

b. To increase the result?

35. Different sorts and rates of wage in the several districts of the country?

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III. *Respecting the several kinds of labour.*

36. If machinery was introduced would it be possible to obtain local engineers, and would they give satisfaction?

37. In what proportion can the natives be, or become, labourers, employed for felling trees, etc., under the supervision, more or less direct, of Europeans?

38. For earth works and felling of trees is it preferable to employ natives by the job, or by the day or the month?

39. With regard to agricultural labour, is there any hope of their being trained to make a rational harvest, that is to say a regular one without waste: of the rubber vine, of palm oil, of copal gum, ground nuts, of sesamum, etc., etc.?

40. To do this, would it be practicable to treat with them (with free men directly through their village chiefs and with slaves through their masters) by means of working contracts, for jobs and for quantities of produce to be delivered within stated periods?

41. Could the fulfilment of these contracts be supervised by the Administrators of Districts?

42. What rewards or penalties could be attached to such agreements?

43. In lieu of damages which, not being paid, would have no effect, could penalties be inflicted by Administrators of Districts on freemen?

Would it be desirable to begin by inflicting fines, and if necessary, adding penalties proportionate to the necessity of the case upon village chiefs and slave-owners who do not fulfil their contracts, either by not supplying the daily average number of labourers or by not observing the guaranteed rate of wage?

44. Could a part of wages earned by the born slaves and other slaves be employed to purchase their liberty from their masters?

45. Would this purchasing back of the liberty of the slaves be beneficial to the natives and assure progress for the country?

46. Is there any fear that once entirely free the natives would refuse to do any work that was not obligatory?

47. Supposing this the case, what would be the best solution?

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48. In replying to Question 42, should any local customs be brought into use?

49. Would it be desirable and possible to compel the village chiefs to plant and cultivate rice, maize, millet, yams, manioc, etc.?

50. What are the means employed by the local administrators to recruit native labour for public works, such as telegraphs, roads, railways, etc., and to regulate the wages?

51. In short, describe as minutely as possible the different means that are employed for organising local labour with a view to its being abundant, stable and cheap.

52. Average wage of agricultural labourers and artisans.

53. Increase of their wage during the last twenty years.

54. Is this labour making any marked progress?

55. Races best suited for agricultural labour, manual labour, art, (masons, carpenters, potters, etc.), carriers, boatmen, and commerce.

56. Give an account of the "Free Villages": their origin, organisation, good or bad results.

57. What becomes of the native soldiers after they have accomplished their military service under the English, French, German, or other European flags?

58. Give a table of the actual state of slavery in any part of Africa.

59. Would it be more desirable for the welfare of the country generally and in the interests of the slaves themselves to establish a system of gradual freeing of slaves at stated periods, or to abolish slavery at once?

We are indebted for these questions, with the exception of some few additions and alterations, to a list published in the "Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales Revue de Politique Extérieure," compiled by Monsieur Aspe Fleurimont, Member of the Council of French Foreign Trade, also Delegate of the Society of Commercial Geography of France.

Replies to the above questions should be accompanied by a sketch map showing distinctly the extent of country to which the replies refer.—ED.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN WEST AFRICA (KAMERUN)

(*Delivered at the Ordinary General Meeting of the African Society on October 28th*, 1902).

THE present year is a land-mark for the development of Kamerun as well as Nigeria. We have the right to state this after the arrival and the settlement of the troops of both Powers at Lake Chad. It was a historical event, too, when the French hoisted their flag at Timbooctoo, once a mysterious town, now intended to become a centre of European commerce, provided the freedom of trade be not curtailed as it has been in other French possessions. Now the last veil which lay over the Chad region is to be drawn away by the German geographical and commercial expedition which is on its way. But unfortunately, we are not able to invite travellers to visit Lake Chad on our side, as the French could do from Timbooctoo, since we have no natural ways of communication like the Niger or the Senegal river.

The same year that marks the opening up of the country to the Lake, gives us the concession for the railway from the Kamerun coast to the interior, and later on to the Lake. And this is another fact which makes the year a happy one for our best colony. By the military occupation of the country and the railway agreement which has been concluded between our Government and the railway syndicate, we have complied with the most important recommendations of the Brussels Conference in order to extinguish slave-raiding, slave-dealing, and gradually slavery itself. We must confess that the Powers were slower to understand their African obligations than they ought to have been in their own interest, not to speak of the good of the

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natives. We must confess that the welfare of the latter ceased to act as a stimulant to public opinion in Europe after the great anti-slavery movement of the eighties which led to the Brussels Conference. It was rather international rivalry which at last brought about the happy event we have to record in one of the most interesting corners of Africa, at Lake Chad.

The French had undertaken to clear the country from the bloodthirsty rulers who opposed their advance in the Sudan. After the Nigerian potentates, it was the turn of Rabeh, the conqueror of Bornu. After having crushed him, they hesitated to take up their winter quarters, as the historian would say, on their own possessions: in order to pursue his son Fadelallah, they camped for some two years at his capital Dikoa, on German soil, but where the German flag had not yet waved. There was for some time a peaceful anarchy among the natives of Bornu; and, pending the arrival of the English and the Germans, the French, living as it were on foreign soil, "sur l'habitant," as it was called in former wars in Europe, the natives, realised that they had escaped the tyranny of Rabeh only to suffer under military requisitions. I do not intend to blame the French troops. I must presume that they were compelled to act as they did. Be it as it may, they were the pike in the carps' pool. In our colonial circles the news from Bornu provoked a strong feeling in favour of the occupation of the German part of the country, and our Government ordered the necessary steps to be taken. Happily, the work had been prepared by the Frontier Force on their campaign in Adamaua three years ago, of which I ask permission to give you afterwards a short sketch in order to show you one side of the German methods of colonising. But I do not intend to give you an account of military enterprise alone, as I believe that our merchants and planters have done good work, while there is little to say as to the achievements of the missionaries. My account will lack completeness, but I feel bound to comment on what is new, so I will select the topics of the hour:—The plantations considered as an educational means, and the geographical and military development of the colony.

A French writer has called our attention to the difference between the native's ways and the methods of the white man.

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The former rests satisfied with the mere gathering of the fruits, "la cueillette." In the tangled forest he does very little clearing, but in the main he earns without sowing, and his commercial intercourse with the White Man begins always with bartering against Manchester goods, the rubber he has tapped from the wild trees and vines, and the kernels he has taken from the equally wild-growing oil-palm-trees. Soon after the acquisition of Kamerun the primitive trade ceased to be considered as the only method of colonising. Agriculture became the watchword, and as the natives of the Coast, the only part of the colony in which white men could at that time safely transact business, were not at all disposed to do regular and daily work by themselves, the idea of plantations for agriculture was taken up by a sagacious Hamburg firm, Messrs. Jantzen and Thormählen, who bought land from the Government and began cocoa-growing ten or eleven years ago. In 1895 a renowned German agriculturist, Prof. Wohltmann, of Bonn, visited the colony, and his reports on the extremely favourable conditions of the soil and climate induced capitalists to open up more bush land and to invest large sums of money in and around the Great Kamerun Peak—some twelve million of marks up to the present time. Next year a light railway will be finished on the eastern slope of the Peak—it is to be some forty miles long, and will cost one million of marks—large areas can then be laid out for cocoa or other plants. I have given elsewhere detailed accounts of the commercial and agricultural doings of the plantations and their bright prospects. I think this would be a fitting place for a survey of the moral effect of the plantations on the natives.

At first, there was no hope of getting their assistance. The planters were obliged to employ Krumen, who, excellent boatmen as they are, are not very useful on land. The Wey and Bassa boys from Liberia did somewhat better, but a monopoly granted or sold by the Liberian Government to a German firm for the shipment of workmen to foreign countries proved a hindrance for the German as well as the other colonies. The situation was critical enough when the Government Labour Commissioner succeeded in hiring bushmen from the near interior and bringing them to Victoria, the centre of the plantations district. Meanwhile new stations had been opened

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beyond the forest girdle, and the communications by the bush-paths became safe enough to permit even hinterlanders to come over. The sea is at the present time no longer a fairy tale for the people of Bali, for example, who now regularly take their journey to the plantations as often as not with no white leaders in their company. They recall to memory the Russian Poles, the "Sachsengänger," who leave their homes in the summer for farm work in the eastern parts of Germany.

But it was still difficult to bring over the inhabitants of the reservations included in the land sold to the plantations, especially in sight of the shore, where the traditions and memories of the natives left them little inclination for intimate intercourse with the White Man. Could they have read the regretted Mary Kingsley's *Story of West Africa*, they might have hoped for some difference between the present methods of the white man in dealing with the African and those of former days, but they could not read the book—and it was perhaps better so—for they really came in as bush-clearing progressed. The change was surprising, at least when we heard of it in Europe a few months ago, for news from the coast is still a rare treat. The Bakwili and other shy tribes had learnt indeed to appreciate wage-earning. Last Christmas the German "Whiteleys," whose catalogues had passed from hut to hut, had to send hundreds of parcels to natives who not long ago had either shunned or mocked at the White Man and his temptations.

That the relations of Capital and Labour did not begin very smoothly is obvious to any one who has visited the Coast, and knows how little the *personnel* sent out for traders' or planters' business was prepared for its task and for dealing with the natives. I have observed on the whole no great difference between German and British agents: there were some who held by a high moral and technical standard, and others who ought to have been kept at home by their firms. But how could this have been otherwise? Colonisation in the modern sense of the word has hardly begun, and among the small and scattered communities of coasters there are still living awful beachcombing ideas, stories and traditions as you doubtless know. Your very distinguished Society has been founded in memory of Mary

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Kingsley, the great teacher of African matters, whose works ought to be appreciated in Germany as they are in England. And in recalling that honoured name, I dare say that you want me to speak without prudery—to state facts truly. Well then, there have been and there are hardships on the plantations, but there are also improvements to record.

I do not pretend that there has not been some light compulsion used on the workmen coming from distant parts of the colony; the petty king who pockets a commission may have urged his people to go, and employed means the morality of which would be doubtful in Europe. But I would not be very much affected by that. It is a fact that the Bali are now more or less eager to hire for the plantations; until recently they contracted for four months only; in July last one thousand men came over for half-a-year. This is of course a good sign.

Secondly, there was the truck system. It flourished everywhere on the Coast before the development of plantations. It was combined with the gin trade. At first some of the plantation managers—not all, I beg to state—adhered to the old system. Now I can tell you, on the Victoria plantation which has become the leading centre of an important industrial group, the company have established large stores where the men can buy at reasonable prices, and when and what they like. Such a store is nowadays very similar to a German "Consumanstalt" or factory store, where the prices must not be higher than the actual purchase cost, plus an allowance for management expenses. The salaries as a rule are booked, and the total amount is paid to the men when the term is over; instalments were given until recently either in silver or in counters, the latter being accepted only at the plantation's store. The Victoria Company, however, has introduced nickel money from Germany, so its men are manifestly free to buy where they choose, and the sixpence is no longer the monetary unit. The workmen can buy much cheaper than formerly. Moreover the salaries are much higher than a few years ago. When I visited the plantations in '99, the rate was 6*s.* or 7*s.* a month in cash and free living; now it has, roughly speaking, doubled everywhere. There was in the first year an antagonism between the old trading firms and the plantations, the former clinging to the

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old and profitable bartering business. When the prospects of success for the plantations became evident, the firms made the best of it and joined first the plantation and then the concession or land companies.

As for gin, in the early days of the plantations, workmen were paid in demijohns of gin, and I remember the Christmas time I spent at one place where the sound of the play drum would not cease for several days. Now things have changed for the better. We cannot make a teetotaler of the Coast Negro, but I believe there is presently no planter who would work his farm on the gin system, as it has become clear that the day after the libations work does not progress, just as in Europe, notwithstanding the drinking abilities of the Negro.

Then there is the housing and diet question. At first, there was much sickness among the men from the interior, and the death-roll was heavy. The evil was not the damp of the forest, as was first supposed, but chiefly the bad preparation of the food. The rice distributed to the men was carelessly prepared and eaten before it was fully cooked. Experts propose to extend the cultivation of maize and plaintains. There is still much to object to in the housing system. Most of the men live in large barracks of corrugated steel, where the air is not irreproachably pure. But the natives like it, so you are told. That would have been a chapter for Charles Lever, but I will not go as far as Ireland, and will recall only the regions of my native continent, in many parts of which the peasants never open a window because they will not spoil the freshness of the open air by the emanations of their homes. Nevertheless, the sanitary situation has greatly improved, and the planters were able last year to submit to the Government very satisfactory statistics on this point. Of course, it would be profitable to get a more numerous population of resident workmen, and this leads me to another point, that of the reservations.

The Government have allowed an area of cultivable land of 1½ hectares, somewhat less than four acres, to each household. This allowance was too small in the eyes of the Parliamentary critics, none of whom have ever visited a German colony. As long as the Bakwili and other inhabitants of the reservations kept afar from the plantations and maintained a spirit of

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hostility, they did them every harm by depredations and thefts. One could have wished that they might be cleared out and their places left for people more willing. I myself professed something like a desire for the survival of the fittest. But since their happy change of mind, the reservations question may now be easily settled between the planters and the Government; and the more so that the people of the reservations, earning their living on the plantations, do not seem to care any longer about their own land, and prefer to buy rice and other commodities from the stores with the money they have earned.

There has been, on the whole, an automatic settlement of the relations between Capital and Labour. Mutual interest has done perhaps more than the inspecting tours of the Government Labour Commissioner, who is always ready to listen to the complaints of the workmen, and has by amicable intervention succeeded in abolishing many local or personal hardships. But it would not be German soil if there were no official regulations. This year the Colonial Council approved of such regulations, which will doubtless be put forward in a small number of well-conceived articles equally satisfactory to those who want protection and to the planters, who have undergone many risks and troubles. The work will not be a difficult one, the custom having preceded the law.

The average cost of a workman in the Colony is somewhat more than £10 a year. The amount looks very low at first sight, but we must remember that the West African Negro does only a very small part of the task of a white labourer. We may, in a way, be happy that there are no gold mines in Kamerun. On the Gold Coast the last record of wages I heard of is 2/6 a day—of course without food—and plantation work has been thrown into the background. In a French colonial paper I found a judgment, or forecast, which deserves to be carefully noted: namely, that the aim of true civilisation is better attained by agriculture than by mining. We are no angels in Germany, and if we had good workable mines in our colonies, we would certainly work them and let the plantations rest. The only mines we can at present hope to work are the tin beds of the Benue region, and the expedition sent out to the Benue and Lake Chad is to ascertain what they are worth. If the report is

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favourable, we may trust that a mining company will be floated in Germany, as there is capital nowadays available for Kamerun, and there would be much more capital invested in this colony were it sufficiently opened up. As for the educating value of the plantations, I have given you in my survey of the labour question some indications. I may add that in different parts of the Colony natives who have worked in the Victoria district apply themselves to rubber and even cocoa. Dr. Preuss, the able and well-known director of the Botanical Garden of Victoria, has made an interesting demonstration on the future of the oil-palm-tree, the very pillar of the old gathering system: if the seeds be properly chosen and the fruit submitted to a rational treatment so as to save the loss of two thirds of the oil now lost under the wasteful method of the natives, there would be a great source of wealth for the whole of West Africa.

I may say that the influence of the Coast plantations is spreading as far as the present scarcity of communication permits. There are in the Colony two great land companies, each of which is entitled to take possession of the free land over a territory of 80,000 square kilometres, or one-seventh of the surface of the Colony. The Bali, who have worked in the Victoria district, live on the territory of the "Nordwest-Kamerun" Company. With their help the company was able to begin farming, and now they report that the farms once laid out are worked by other natives living on the spot.

In the Sudan the problem will be a different one. In many parts agriculture is highly developed. European farmers can settle on the high-levelled tracks, and the natives do not need generally to be taught to work; here therefore the question will be that of improved methods and of meeting the needs of the European market. Sesame, arachids, and cotton, especially the latter, with which the Germans have made promising experiments in the Togo Colony, may be produced of very good quality and in paying quantities, as soon as the railway now to be built shall reach beyond the forest belt. For the moment local penetration to the interior is secured by the Cross River, where two steamers of the "Nordwest" Company are now running. The present Benue-Chad expedition must, on the other hand, lead to a steamer service on the Benue River.

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A fortnight ago a great Colonial Congress assembled at Berlin. It is impossible to appreciate its results, as the full report can only be published in the course of time, but it is a striking fact that economic, and especially agricultural, questions took the first place in the proceedings. We have learnt very much and still learn from you, and we cannot boast to do more than apply the colonial methods we have found ready-made in English colonies. We must however try to go our own way in Africa, after having adopted the best general system, and we hope to find the best field for our activity and our shrewdness in the vast domain of agriculture. We do not hope to improve on Colonial Government, but we want certainly a less embryonic system than the present one. It may become the Crown Colony system with the Administrative Council later on; for the moment, however, we should be glad to get a representation of the settlers by a mere consultative body. That would mean great progress. After all, the Government question appears to the German colonials who really know Kamerun as secondary to the great problems of agriculture, commerce, and the opening of communications.

Education too is one of the secondary problems, unless we mean by it education by labour. I agree, for my part, with what Miss Kingsley, Lt.-Col. Mockler-Ferryman, and other English writers have stated on the missionary-made African. In the first years we ourselves followed too closely the steps of the Powers who had preceded us in Africa, and gave too much attention to literary education and too little to manual work, and like you we have now an excess of clerks, or of what is called in Germany "Halbbildung." It is interesting to know what the headmaster of the Government School at Duala, the capital situated on the Kamerun estuary, formerly called Kamerun-town, has to report on the quality of his pupils. The lessons are now given exclusively in German, while the mission schools will not give up the system of teaching in the native language first, on the ground that the pupils could not follow in German. The method of the Government School has proved a complete success. That is not surprising, the Duala being one of the most intelligent tribes of the coast. But easily as the pupils learn, the effects of education are lost after they have left

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school, owing to the moral qualities of the race. By the way, the master had to dismiss in one term 16 of his 115 pupils for theft or invincible laziness. Nevertheless we ought to profit by the natural acuteness of these Duala and develop their capacity for handiwork, which is proved by their excellent carvings. I found a number of them very fit for engine-work, though Miss Kingsley doubted the capacity of the West African in this way. Since this lady visited the Coast many Duala have learnt in the workshops of the Government to handle engines, and I was surprised, after some weeks of travel, to find natives of an incontestable skill in mechanical work. At last we have now at Duala a Roman Catholic school, where the teachers, being experts in every craft, make the best of the realistic-minded Duala, who ought to learn only a little German and a little arithmetic, but should become a first-rate carpenter and a good locksmith.

The best teachers in other parts of the colony, where agricultural work is first needed, are the planters. I told you that there were many complaints in former days about the *personnel* of the firms and companies. The evil was felt in Germany, and the Colonial school of Witzenhausen in the neighbourhood of Cassel was founded, three years ago, in order to form trustworthy and able colonial agriculturists. It is a private institution, controlled by leaders of the Colonial Society, and enjoys a grant from the Government. For the very moderate price of about one thousand marks a year, the pupils receive a thorough technical education and a modest living. I visited the school in May last, when it was frequented by some 40 pupils between 17 and 26, who intended to try their fortune beyond the seas, in German colonies or foreign countries. Professors lecture on agricultural and other subjects, a conservatory and a chemical laboratory are provided for, but a great part of the day is spent in manual work of every kind, in the field, at the workshop, or at the stables, and dairy, according to a carefully observed rotation. The principal aim of the institution is to form the character and impart a practical capacity. Therefore, they must do every kind of work. On the other hand there is a library, and opportunities for sports are given. I found a harmonious blending of English college life and military discipline, the latter represented by the

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director who served as a soldier and later on as an army chaplain. Former pupils who after the two years' training had made their way in the world keep up relations with the institution, and the accounts they write of their experiences in the wide world are printed for the use of the following generations of pupils. Let me add that most of the pupils belong to the better classes; there are among them younger sons of the German gentry, who hope to find in foreign countries a successful career more on account of their technical and moral qualities than the small capital which may become their palpable fortune. The Colonial School of Witzenhausen is thus calculated to give us the men we want most in our colonies.

The commercial penetration of the country on the north-western side is carried on, as I have stated, by the steamship service of the "Nordwest" Company on the Cross River. On the South-east the "Süd-Kamerun" Company are advancing their stations in a western and southern direction. The tracts of land granted to this company are rich in rubber and ivory, but the development is difficult, since the territory can be reached only by the long and costly way of the Congo railway and the Congo and the Sangha rivers. The problem of establishing a line of communications between the coast and the basis of the "Süd-Kamerun," the Sangha-Ngoko corner, has been solved by an officer, the Baron von Stein, who has made very important travels in this part of the colony and proved that even a good road would suffice for a time at least.

In the centre and the west the good and rapid work done by the Frontier Force has cleared the way for commerce, so that ere long the "Nordwest" will be able to trade from the coast to the Benue. Their manager, Captain Ramsay, has made a commercial reconnaisance as far as Ngaundere, through a country which was only a few years ago troubled by the slave-raids of the Fullah rulers.

I would now beg you to accompany me to the centre of the colony, not with Captain Ramsay, the representative of the "Nordwest" following the flag at a little distance, but with the flag itself, on the expedition which the Frontier Force undertook in 1899 for the opening of Adamaua.

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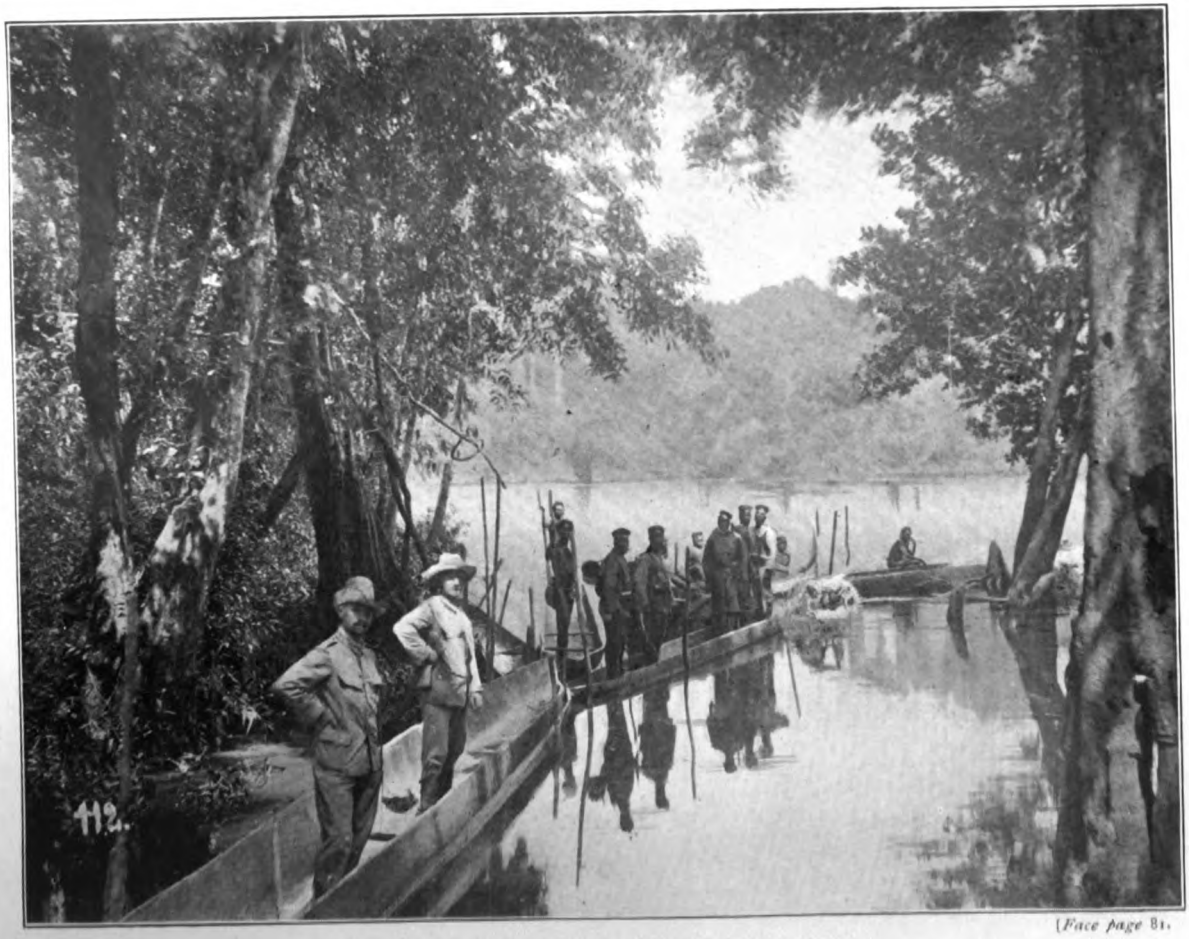

(*Face page* 81.

THE FRONTIER FORCE CROSSING THE NYONG RIVER.

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LANTERN SLIDES.[1]

1. I myself have only seen the preparations for this campaign at the headquarters at Duala, and if I am bold enough to give you a description of events I have not assisted in, it is prompted by the interest which now exists in this country as well as in Germany for the development of the Sudan.

2. The force numbered about 439 men, the commander, Major von Kamptz, made the campaign with only 325 men. The garrison of Duala embarked for Kribi, where the carriers joined the troop (3) who had a difficult march through the primeval forest. There is a so-called road, but the scantiness of the budget allowances for road building is such that at least in the southern part of the colony this task has not yet been earnestly undertaken. The Nyong river must be crossed on two army folding-boats and the canoes of the natives from the river banks.

4. At the military post of Yaunde, at that time the most advanced post in the interior, the troop was completed by one company up to the total of 325 men. Yaunde was a point of support during the operations. (The photograph shows victualling by the Yaunde women, who appear under the leading of the village chiefs.)

5. The station consisted of a number of well-built brick houses. Brick-laying and log-sawing were taught to the natives by Lieutenant Dominiz, the officer now in command at Dikoa. He has been very clever in peace work as well as in the field. The station, lying about 2,000 feet above sea-level, has become a settlement for missionaries and traders.

6. As for the Yaunde, they are Bantu people, and form an exception to the rule that the end of the forest marks the limit between the Sudan and the Bantu negroes. They are tall and slender, well-nourished, with brilliant black eyes, and dark bronze-coloured skin. The face is regular. The women are well-grown, and their faces are often beautiful. The usefulness of the Yaunde is proved by the fact that the men do the rough field work, while planting is the share of the women. This participation in labour surprised the officers, who had hitherto found only the confirmation of the sarcasm that woman was the

[1] The numbers refer to the photographs exhibited at the lecture.

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first beast of burden. A number of Yaunde are occupied on the plantations of the Victoria district, others have shown good qualities as soldiers.

The campaign was undertaken in order to protect the Bati and other tribes against the slave-raiding of the Wute chief Ngila, who ruled over the country between the Sanaga and the Mbam rivers. The Sanaga forms the limit between the Bantu and the Sudan negroes. The Wute, the first Sudanese tribe we meet beyond the river, have not attained a high standard, but they are good blacksmiths and leather workers; they have adopted some of the Haussa customs. The Haussa live in colonies as in Adamaua, where they trade in all directions. Yaunde is at the extreme southern end of their trade routes in the Protectorate itself, but on another line from north-west to south-east they reach the French territory by Ngaundere and Kunde. The troop found the Ngilatown surrounded by a wall and moat. A picket fence ran over the wall. The fortifications were rather strong from an African point of view.

7. As the chiefs had reasons to fear the vengeance of the numerous tribes they had raided, after the town had been stormed (an operation of which we see here the beginning), the chief fled and was pursued. His fate has become doubtful, but the power of the Wute was broken.

8. The booty has enriched the Berlin Ethnographical Museum. We learn by the last reports that the Wute have become voluntary subjects of the Germans, who may rely upon their warlike qualities if the Fan in the country between the Sanaga and Nyong rivers should become dangerous in their still persistent opposition to the advance of the White Man. The assistance of the Wute should be the more valuable as no military occupation has taken place in the South Eastern part of the colony.

The next object of the campaign was Yoko, an important strategic place, as the roads to Tibati and Ngaundere in the north, and Ngambe and Banyo in the east cross here. A military post was therefore left at Yoko after the campaign. The pointed roofs of the huts are the first indication of the presence of the Fullani, the foreign ruling class of Adamaua, who have settled at many places of the country. At Yoko they

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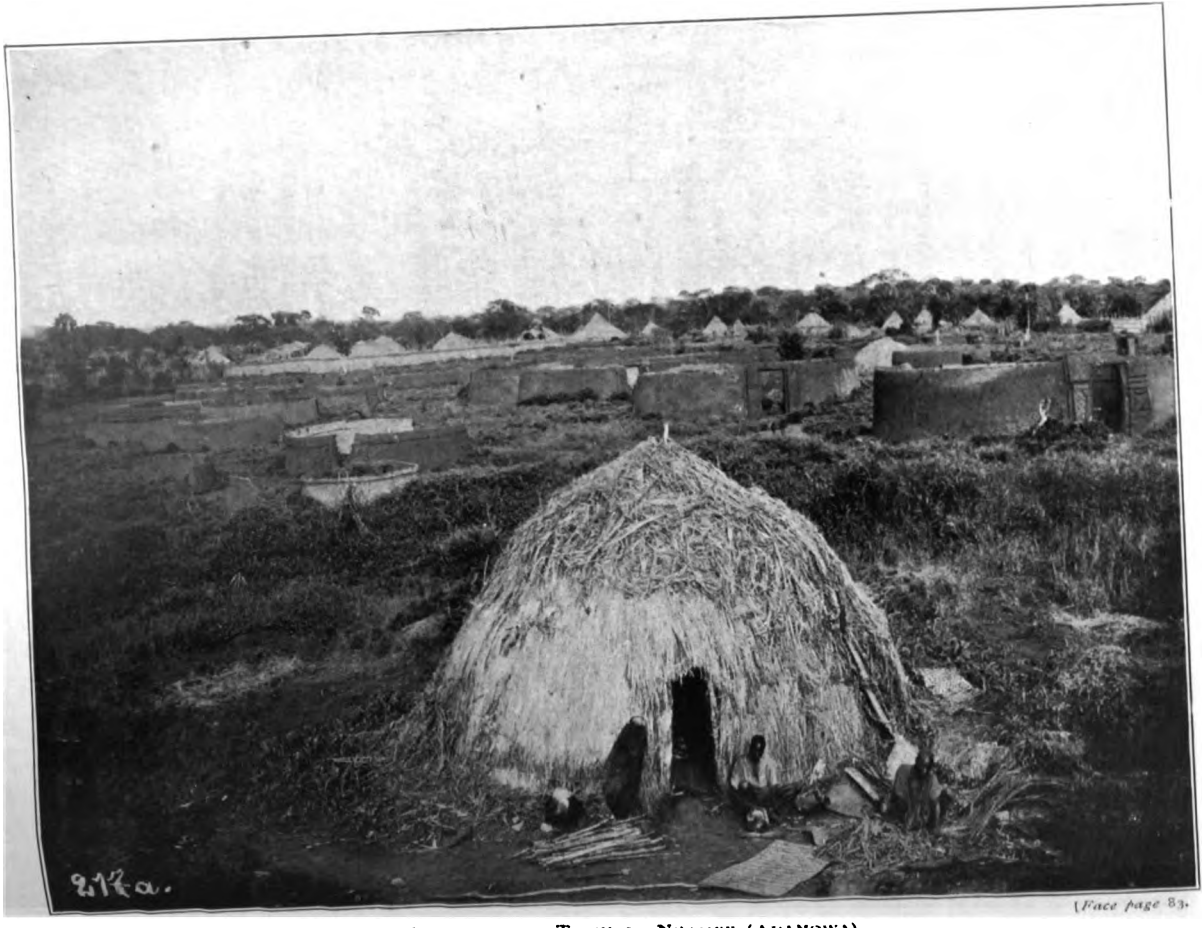

(Face page 83.

FARMS IN THE TOWN OF NGAMBE (ADAMOWA).

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meet the Wute from the south and the Tikar from the east. It is their last settlement so far south. The process of the Fullah conquest was still going on when the Force entered Adamaua The Takum, a few days north from Yoko, were already under Fullah rule.

9. The country between Yoko and Takum is hilly. The Takum are related to the Wute, as well as the Bali, Bafut, and Bandeng in the west, and the Mandiongoltikar in the east.

10. (The photograph represents a Fullah chief in the well-known Haussa tobe: the cap we see here is often replaced by the Haussa turban.) The rule of the Fullah chiefs in the Takum villages is often very despotic, and it would be a good thing to multiply the residences in order to control the local chiefs for the good of the subdued.

11. The country is high-levelled, and the landscape presents various aspects. There are many savannahs (like this one) between Yoko and Ngambe, but the soil is generally very fertile; even on the savannahs great trees are so frequent that in our colonial discussions a comparison is often made with the monotonous steppes of East Africa.

12. Mountainous tracts, such as those we have here, of the Ngua region appear healthy places where Europeans could live, and control or improve the native methods of cultivation, when the railways are built and the products can be brought to the shipping places. It would be easy to grow arachids, for instance. On a less fertile soil the natives living under French rule in Senegal grow enormous quantities of this oil fruit, which has become, as everybody knows, an important element of the oil trade of Marseilles and Bordeaux, where the arachid oil is branded as pure olive oil.

13. The Force took its way from Yoko to Tibati and Ngambe. The Takum country was reached only on the return. I follow a more geographical order. Ngambe is the capital of the Mandiongolo-Tikar, who were still resisting the attempt of the Fullah Sultan of Tibati to subdue them. This potentate and his father before him had for eleven years a fortified camp, a sanserni, in sight of the town, which was of course fortified also. His warriors were the Kaburra, negro slaves who had adopted the Fullah custom and enlisted with

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the Sultan of Tibati. After a due time of military service, they received a hut, women, and slaves. Their dress is that of the Fullani—the tobe and broad trousers; their arms are the spear, the bow and arrow, and the broad Haussa sword with the shoulder-belt. They are violent fellows, who become inconvenient even to the free Fullani.

14. Major von Kamptz took up his quarters at Ngambe on April 11th, 1899. The fortifications were very interesting: there was a rampart with moat and wall, and many towers, not unlike the mediæval fortifications of Europe. From the towers, the beleaguered defended themselves with bows and arrows.

15. During the siege the communications with the outer world were not wholly cut off, the operations of the Tibati being intermittent, and so that it was possible to the friends of the Tikar to assist them. From time to time there was a truce, and the belligerents met in an open space between the town and the sanserni, where a common market was held.

16. So there were many large and carefully cultivated farms. The huts are of the same type as those of the Wute, only smaller. The chief's quarter (of which we have a sight here) is particularly extensive. One would scarcely imagine such farms in the middle of a town. At the time the Germans arrived at Ngambe, the Tikar were about to surrender. It was a duty to relieve them, as they had some years before saved a German expedition when it was nearly annihilated by the Fullani.

17. The chief of the Tikar—he is represented here—complimented Major von Kamptz in these words: "Now my people shall no longer die on the walls, with their face turned to the enemy." Since that time, the Tikar have proved reliable friends, some of them have seen the coast, and their agricultural habits will become very useful.

18. Before the relief of Ngambe the Force had already been at Tibati, but the Sultan was at that time at the sanserni before Ngambe. They entered Tibati through this gate. Hence the countermarch to Ngambe and the relief of this town, the Sultan and his Kaburra having fled to Tibati, where at last he was captured.

19. (This and the two next photographs represent market life at Tibati.) The Germans afterwards met with a very good re-

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[Photo Jaeger Bros.

KABURGA SOLDIERS OF THE SULTAN OF TIBETI.

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ception everywhere, as the rulers of Tibati had done more harm than others of their race. One of the officers of the Force made a trip from Tibati to Ngaundere, where the Sultan had heard the startling but joyful news, as he had formerly felt uncomfortable with his fellow Fullani of Tibati.

20. The Fullani, as the masters of the country, do no manual work, and have the farms worked by slaves. Their own occupation is simply slave-raiding, and they live on the profits of the sales of their victims. (A slave market has no external characteristics, so we may imagine it just as we see it in this photograph.) There can be no doubt that in Kamerun and Nigeria slave-raiding is going on in every part where there is no thorough control exercised by the German or the British authorities.

21. At Tibati, many people have adopted Haussa dress (as is shown here). But even where the Haussa do not trade by themselves, they have their agents for the human merchandise, and we know by the very suggestive articles of Mr. T. J. Tonkin in the *Imperial Review*, that in Nigeria the Bantu tribes make war among themselves in order to get slaves for the greedy Haussa.

22. The palace of the Sultan had to be taken by storm. It was easy, since the farm—this name is more appropriate than that of a palace—was surrounded only by a straw fence. There was but one gate. The farm had a diameter of about one hundred yards. Near to the gate were the huts for the guests, and close by the fenced dwellings of the Sultan himself, and his mother, the graves of his father and grandfather, etc.

23. Lastly, the treasury, a number of particularly strong buildings containing large quantities of ivory and many other precious things. A selection was made again for the Ethnographical Museum, and the price obtained for the ivory covered a good deal of the war expenses. (You may remark, in comparing these with the trophies from Wute, how much higher the culture-level must be here.)

24. Adamaua is a cattle-breeding country (as is shown by the photograph of the herds taken from the Sultan's kraal). As soon as the Fullah states were reached the commander could mount all the officers and white non-commissioned officers on

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horseback. Most of the present chiefs of Adamaua appear to be ready enough to comply with the wishes of the authorities in regard to road-building, so that we may hope to develop travelling by horse and transport by cattle.

25. The soldiers had good living in the town after the hardships of the march. Here they are represented in the expectation of sheep-meat and durrah beer, while they make friends with the inhabitants. A good number of the Force were themselves Sudanese, so the intercourse was easy enough.

26 and 27. The commander had still to set political affairs in order. The Sultan, Mohamma not being trustworthy, could not be reinstated, so he was brought down to the coast and given a house at Duala. Though a Moslem he was a drunkard, and drank so much that he died after a few months.

28. A new Sultan, a relative of the deposed, named Chiroma, was proclaimed in a solemn ceremony (as we see in the photograph). Chiroma did not keep faith, and was deposed in his turn. The Governor states in his last report: "The station of Yoko was successful in its endeavours for pacification. Several expeditions were sent out to Tibati, where they had to restore order.

29. This Adamaua campaign had lasting effects. The authorities had understood that it was of no use to make mere military walks through the country, and then to leave the people with no help but their own.

30. We had come to a point where political control must be exercised by German officials staying in the country. It was the only possible sequel of the operations.

31. While the troops were far away in the hinterland, rebellions, great and small, broke out in different parts of the forest region. So alarming was the news, that those who entertained for the future of the colony the most sanguine hopes were brought to despair. At last, in 1900, our Force was increased to 900 or 1,000 black soldiers, Parliament having become persuaded that such an insurance is preferable to the situation in which the Government was then placed, of having to pay an indemnity to a Roman Catholic mission, whose establishment on the south coast had been devasted by a horde of rebels.

32. As a last topic of the Adamaua expedition we have before

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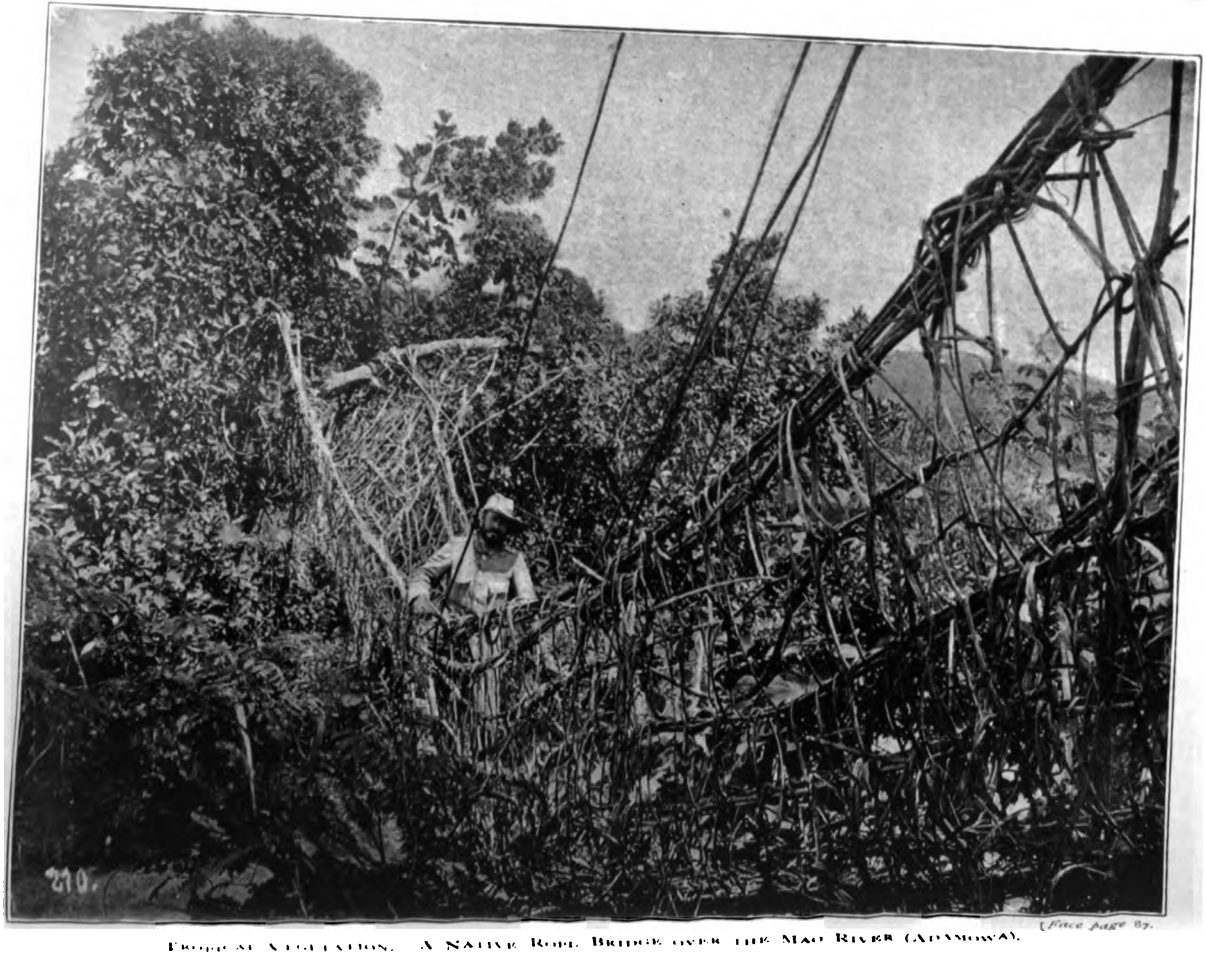

TROPICAL VEGETATION. A NATIVE ROPE BRIDGE OVER THE MAO RIVER (ADAMAWA). (Face page 87.

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us a piece of primeval forest in the region of Tibati. You see how luxurious the forest vegetation is here, at a distance of several hundreds of miles from the Coast.

The Adamaua campaign was the first act; the occupation of the Chad region is the second act. To an Englishman, Denham, we owe the discovery. German explorers brought more detailed descriptions of the Lake region, and in later years the French troops have pacified it. On May 3rd, a few weeks after the West African Frontier Force under Colonel Morland had hoisted the British flag at Magumeri, the German Force under Colonel Pavel reached the Lake. A post was founded at Dikoa, the former capital of Rabeh. In Germany there is a vivid interest in the country newly opened between the Benue river and Lake Chad. The expedition organised by the Colonial Society is on their way to the Lake, their principal object being to complete the information of former explorers.

Heinrich Barth had passed through the country in 1851, on his way from Kuka in Bornu to Yola, when he discovered the Upper Benue, and in the following year when he went from Dikoa to the Musgo country and the Logone River. Dr. Nachtigal travelled in 1872 along the Shari river down to the present French fort Bretonnet, and a second time farther down the river to Kusseri, the same town at which the French annihilated the power of Rabeh, in 1899. In 1866 Gerhard Rohlfs brought information from the mountainous region of Mandara or Wandala. An expedition of the Colonial Society, headed by Herr von Uechtritz and Dr. Passarge, explored the country from Yola to Marrua. The French officials and soldiers who defeated Rabeh have completed the reports of these German explorers. In the book of M. Foureau: "D'Alger au Congo par le Tchad," we find a valuable description of the Shari region, while M. Gentil's book: "La Chute de l'Empire de Rabah" contains the interesting account of the rise and decline of the conqueror.

The country rises slowly from the Benue, but only to fall again in the direction of the Shari and the Chad, with one exception, that of the Mandana mountains, some of which attain a height of 6,000 feet above sea-level. While on the higher western side there are large tracts of forest and still larger savannahs.

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In the lower east the land is marshy during the rainy season, when the communications are frequently cut off; on the other hand, the soil is dried hard during the dry season.

Looking at the map we find that the Kamerun territory south of the lake has the shape of a duck's head. One part of the German territory reaches far into the French protectorate, and the French therefore would like to get the frontier regulated so as to leave to them the Logone country between the Shari and the Logone rivers. They assert that Germany would have a better communication from the south when using the Logone. Apart from this our present information does not open a very favourable prospect for the navigation, and thus the extreme north of the colony is not better situated in this respect than its other parts.

But we can be sure that the country north of the Benue is extremely fertile. Everywhere, with the exception of the marshes in the Musgo district, the mountains, and the forests, there are vast tracts of land under cultivation. We were not surprised to learn from the book of M. Gentil that the natives between the Shari and Dikoa are skilful farmers. All sorts of grain are cultivated, even rice grows in the north. The natives are accustomed to clean the barren-looking fields by fire before rain is expected, then they sow the seeds, which spring up and grow in so short a time that the change is almost sudden. We all know the importance of new countries for the cultivation of cotton. Now, the country south of Lake Chad is one of the most promising in this respect, as all the travellers from Barth to Passarge agree. Moreover, cotton-growing is very easy. Barth wrote that immense riches are buried in the provinces of Dikoa and the Logone, since the cultivation of cotton could be extended without limit. On the whole, he classes the country as one of the most rich, and being nearly flat as one of the best fitted for agriculture on the whole continent. There is, as we see, a good field of investigation for the commercial and scientific expedition now on its way, cotton growing in West Africa being one of the most interesting problems of the present hour; as we know by the creation of a Cotton-Growing Committee at Oldham and Manchester, and the first and successful attainments of the German Agricultural Committee in the Togo colony.

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To be complete, let me mention that there is still plenty of ivory, especially in the wet Musgo region, in Mandara and other large tracts of the west. In former times there was a brisk trade in ivory in the markets of Marrua and Fatauel, from whence the ivory was brought by caravans through the desert to Tripoli and Benghazi. In later days, large quantities were exported to northern Nigeria. Rabeh paid in ivory for the guns he bought from the caravan traders. Lastly, there are horses throughout the district; Bornu and Marrua are the chief centres of horse-breeding, while in Bornu too the Arabs who immigrated as traders were breeding cattle on a large scale. We must remember these circumstances as favourable for the direct exploitation of the country by Europeans. The country is not a healthy one, but where grain is cultivated and cattle and horses are bred, life is much more comfortable than in the forest belt through which our countrymen have to find their way to the more civilised peoples of the near and the far hinterland.

Will the government of the country be an easy one? This question is very complicated owing to the great variety of races. The aborigines were Sudan negroes living on the Logone river. But soon they mixed blood with desert tribes and Arabs, and a new race, the Kanuri, which were the offspring, were brought under the domination of a regular state, the sultanate of Bornu, as early as the ninth century. Then a number of lesser states reaching as far as the Logone were rendered tributary by Bornu. Nevertheless, in the east the inhabitants kept up their race against the Kanuri. The Fullani, who are mentioned first in the sixteenth century as living on the Senegal river, did not fail to settle in numbers south of Lake Chad at their great migration of the last century, but, unlike what happened south of the Benue, where they became the rulers, they were not able with one exception to conquer power in the north, in Bornu, where Islam had already strengthened the states it had created or grouped. The Fullani were absorbed by the aborigines in the greater part of the northern province. The most unhappy lot was that of the heathens of Logone. They did not form a state, but lived without cohesion and remained independent but weak, torn by local factions and village wars, just like the Bantu in other parts of the colony, and, like these, they were exposed to

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the slave raids of the Bornuans in the west, the Baghirmians in the east, and the Fullani in the south. When forced out they used to seek a last refuge in the Mandara mountains, or those marshes of Musgo which Barth calls an "African Holland," or on the eagles' haunts between the Mao-Kebbi river and Marrua, from which they retaliated by surprising and pillaging caravans.

The advent of Islam in these large tracts of land happened, as we might say, just before the closing of the doors, namely, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, immediately before the European conquest of which we shall probably see the last stage in Sokoto. In 1897 Gentil found at Busso on the Shari river the influence of Islam; we know that fifty years before the inhabitants were mere heathens.

As still exists in the Fullah states, so in Bornu the system was a regular feudal one, and this made the strength and the weakness of the rulers alike. When Rabeh conquered Bornu in 1893, the Sultan and his magnates could not oppose a serious resistance; the conquered discerned the situation and abandoned the empire and the dynasty. The situation is the same in the Fullah sultanate of Marrua, where the former Emir of Yola, Zuberuv, had found a refuge with his vassal, and the whole organisation collapsed without any serious fighting. The organisation of the then Fullani states appear likewise as a rudimentary feudalism.

As for the future government of the newly opened region, the German Government is to follow the same principle as the English in Northern Nigeria: the residents and commanders of military posts are political agents, while the local government is entrusted under their control to a native ruler, taken from an old dynasty or chosen by the population. Rabeh, as we learn from M. Gentil, did not know the people and the language of Bornu, so he left the governors of the former sultanate at the head of the provinces, but he appointed military chiefs who had to look after the governors. The feudal system was thus replaced by a military dictatorship. Each of the governors had to collect from the inhabitants a certain amount of taxes, half of which was paid to Rabeh, the other half being divided between the governors and the military residents. With his own revenue the conqueror founded something like a treasury to defray the

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expenses of the army and public works. Such an organisation looks so useful that M. Gentil would like to have it adopted without change for the French provinces of the Lake region.

The German territory south of the Lake has everywhere a very dense population, somewhat like four millions. A number of large towns are spread over the different parts of the country. To begin with, there is Garua on the Benue, the population of which Dr. Passarge estimated ten years ago at 4 to 5,000, the trade was flourishing, though the town could not compete with Yola. The next great town to the north is Marrua, the capital of the Fullah state, with 70 to 80,000 inhabitants, and well populated surroundings. The estimates for the other towns are too old to be taken into consideration, since fluctuations are very frequent in all parts of Central Africa where European rule has not been established.

In peaceful times the trade round about the Lake has ever been a lively one, as the natives are good farmers and clever artisans. We know that they are able wool weavers, and on the Shari river, good craftsmen in pottery and tanning. The Kanuri of Dikoa have learnt under the rule of Rabeh to appreciate silk cloth from Lyons and England, Manchester goods, European jewellery, and the many wares the caravans brought up from Tripoli and Benghazi. As we know by British consular reports, the military operations of the French have temporarily disturbed the caravan trade. One of the tasks of our present explorers is to gain information on the trade currents in the northern part of our colony, as well as on the outlets of this trade. Little is known at present in this respect. Of course the country north and south of the Benue is a dependency of the commercial basin of the Niger: from Garua, one route goes north through an unfriendly heathen population to Marrua, but there appears to be no communication from there to Dikoa and the Lake. An old route leads through Southern Bornu from west to east by Karnak-Logone to Baghirmi.

Satisfactory as it is, the present year can be considered, after all, only as a new starting point in the development of the colony. We have reasons to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the opening of the country up to Lake Chad has cost less

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blood and money than the conquest of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey to the French or of the Gold Coast hinterland to the British. Now the third act in the process is beginning. We are to establish in the newly conquered provinces a German administration founded on the management by natives of local affairs. Shall we succeed? We may hope so, as our officials have succeeded with the first Sudanese tribes they had to deal with, those of Togo, where the situation is now peaceful and satisfactory in every respect. Moreover, we know the traditions of English colonial Government and intend to adapt them to our own action wherever the circumstances permit of it.

In 1836 Charles Darwin wrote from Sydney: "In the evening I walked through the town, and returned back full of admiration at the whole scene. It is a most magnificent testimony to the power of the British nation. Here in a less promising country scores of years have done many times more than an equal number of centuries have effected in South America." The first English visitor to Kamerun, Miss Kingsley, had a similar impression of what we had achieved at that time on the Coast. We should be glad to show to your travellers the progress we have since made, and we hope that in the interior we shall be able to keep pace with what you are now beginning to do for the thorough colonisation of Nigeria, which is to become, under your rule, one of the most flourishing countries of the tropical world.

P. MÜLLENDORFF,
Colonial Editor of the Cologne Gazette.

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PROCEEDINGS

AT THE ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY, OCTOBER 28TH, 1902

MR. F. SWANZY (Chairman of the West African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce) in the Chair.

THE HON. SECRETARY announced that the Rt. Hon. Lord Avebury would open the Session 1902–3 of The African Society at the United Service Institute at 4 p.m. on November 5th, and read a letter from Sir Alfred Jones, a gentleman very well known in connection with African affairs, regretting non-attendance, owing to engagements in Liverpool and Manchester; he hoped the meeting would be successful.

THE CHAIRMAN, introducing Mr. Müllendorff, said :—Ladies and gentlemen, the subject of the lecture to-day is, as you know, the present development of German West Africa. Herr Müllendorff is Colonial editor to the Cologne Gazette—with which paper he has been connected for something like eighteen years—and last week he delivered lectures at Liverpool and Manchester on this particular subject. You will be interested to hear that some three years ago he visited West Africa to study these questions on the spot. I am the more pleased to take the chair this afternoon, as my firm have been trading in the German colonies for some years. I have the privilege of knowing many German merchants at Hamburg, and I am convinced that Germany has many things to teach us with regard to colonial management. They study questions very minutely. In connection with Cotton—they have at the present time sent out a Commission at some considerable expense to Tongoland to study this question. My Firm have always found German officials particularly courteous, and in this particular Colony we

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have always been placed on precisely the same footing as our German Competitors. I should like to mention another particularly interesting point—that Germany, as also this country, is studying the question of the origin of Malarial Diseases. Germany, like ourselves, has founded a school for the study of Tropical Diseases at Hamburg, and I have had the privilege of meeting two German Doctors lately returned from West Africa, both of whom are tremendously keen upon this subject, and very hopeful as to obtaining really satisfactory results. I should also like to refer to the attitude that Hamburg and Bremen have taken up in regard to the question of Concessions in French Congo. They are quite as keen about that matter as the English merchants have shown themselves to be. I have now the pleasure to invite Herr Müllendorff to give his Lecture.

HERR MÜLLENDORFF then delivered his Lecture, which was followed by applause.

THE CHAIRMAN invited discussion, there being many gentlemen present much interested in West Africa. No questions being asked,

THE CHAIRMAN continued :—I should like to bear testimony to the excellence of the paper just read, which seems to me full of matter. I will refer, in the first place, to the graceful tribute paid by Herr Müllendorff to the memory of Miss Kingsley. It is gratifying to those of us who were instrumental in starting this Society to remember that we have several Germans among us. Herr Müllendorff—as all connected with West Africa do—appreciates the great work that Miss Kingsley inaugurated. With regard to the *matter* of the Lecture there are too many points of interest to refer to. I was particularly glad to hear that as to the plantations there seems to be no difficulty with regard to labour. It is an undoubted fact that in educating these people we do not want, as the Lecturer mentioned, to train up so many clerks, as in the past, but to train natives as agriculturists, artificers, engineers, and so forth. I know from the experience of our Firm—I am quite sure Mr. Shelford will bear out what I say with regard to the railway—that they make excellent engineers. Another interesting point is Herr Müllendorff's reference to the College of Witzenhausen. It seems to me that this is where the Germans do excellent work in training

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their Colonists, and those who go forth to help to develop the Colonies. As to labour—it seems to me that there is plenty of it, and it is to be had cheaply; I only wish we on the Gold Coast could obtain somewhat cheaper labour. The lecturer referred to the Gold Coast and the effect of the Mines. I am pleased to say the mining industry has by no means killed the Plantation Industry there: for instance, Cocoa-growing has increased enormously, and I cannot help thinking it is possible that we shall develop the Cotton Industry also. My Firm imports a little cotton as it is, and I look forward to that industry being developed. We had some years ago considerable development in the cultivation of Coffee, but unfortunately prices fell and the natives abandoned their plantations. I shall be glad to move a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Müllendorff for coming among us this afternoon and giving us this most interesting address.

REAR-ADMIRAL HAND seconded the motion.

MR. DOWNING then rose and said: I desire to ask a question in relation to labour in the Kameruns. The Lecturer has referred to the Cotton-growing industry in West Africa. This industry is now being promoted under the British Flag on lines somewhat similar to those with which the Germans have made some advance. For the benefit of the British effort, it would be well if the lecturer should inform us whether the experience of the Germans has been of a kind to convince them that native labour, as it now is, is sufficiently reliable to encourage those concerned in the development of the cotton industry to depend upon it.

Mr. James Calloway, a negro expert from America, who has been developing cotton plantations in Togo Land for the Germans, has informed me that he found the native labour too uncertain in its character to altogether serve his purpose. He believed, however, that when it had been brought into contact with skilled negro cotton growers from the United States, it would readily assume the valuable character of the latter class, and become everything one could desire. It appears to me that those interested in developing the Cotton-growing industry under the British Flag may learn much from the experience of Mr. Calloway and the Germans. Will the Lecturer therefore

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kindly advise us as to whether in his opinion, this native labour, unaffected by contact with the labour imported from America, is sufficiently reliable to warrant capital associating itself with it, and if not, whether the introduction of American negro labour into Africa to affect the native labour is likely to improve the value of the latter, as Mr. Calloway expected?

HERR MÜLLENDORFF, answering the question as to the Plantation Labour, said: The Plantations I spoke of are going on in the South-West part of the Colony. As to the question of agricultural farms—of course the present farmer needs teaching, and the excellent American teaching is having a very good effect. I gave an account of it in my Lecture at Manchester. The natives are going in for Cotton-growing more than ever, and their methods are mending slowly but surely. Togoland will not be a Plantation Colony, but a Native Farmers' Colony; we hope, therefore, that the present Cotton-growing experiments can be carried on on a larger scale, and that the good reports we now have will be applicable to that scheme. We are very grateful to Mr. Calloway and his American friends who are doing very good work and co-operating with the Natives and the White officials.

The Vote of Thanks to the Lecturer on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously, and COLONEL STOPFORD having proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by MR. SHELFORD, the proceedings terminated.

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THE FUTURE OF THE SUDAN

THE Sudan, formerly shut off from the outer world, is now within easy reach of Cairo. With the exception of about 200 miles of steamboat travelling on the Nile, the railway takes the traveller the whole distance from Cairo to Khartoum in about 7 days.

Khartoum is destined to become a very large and important city; signs of this are already apparent in the splendidly planned town, well laid out roads, and the many magnificent buildings it now possesses. Its situation at the junction of the Blue and White Niles—the rendez-vous of all the vast provinces known as the Egyptian Sudan—assures its prosperity.

Although it is only four years since the battle of Omdurman, at which time only the ruins of old Khartoum remained, it has since been rebuilt, and can now actually boast of two very important banks for the use of merchants and agriculturists.

The country possesses vast areas of the most fertile soil in the world, and it may safely be inferred that under British rule, accompanied with facilities for transport and the influx of foreign capital, the present insignificant fraction of land under cultivation will rapidly increase until the whole is cultivated. In this then lies the future of the Sudan, and a very brilliant perspective it offers.

The much talked of railway connecting Atbara on the Nile with the port of Suakim on the Red Sea will be an accomplished fact within the next two or three years; the route has already been surveyed and the railway material is being pushed forward and, with accessory steamers on the Nile as feeders, this line will open up a chain of communication that will bring the inhabitants of this hitherto little known country into close and easy contact with the markets of Europe and India, alike for the sale of their

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produce and for the supply of their necessities. The distance from Atbara to Suakim is roughly speaking about 280 miles or about a sixteen hours journey by rail. This railway should therefore stimulate the cultivation of those millions of acres of alluvial soil between the White and Blue Niles, and also the cultivation of that vast tract of country between the river Atbara and the Blue Nile known as the Island of Meroe. It is bewildering to think of the agricultural wealth that could be produced from these two districts alone, besides which there are the fertile lands of Taka, Dongola, Tokar, and the Bahr-el-Gazelle provinces. It is then not too much to predict that one day the Sudan will export Cotton, Grain and other agricultural produce to an undreamt-of extent, perhaps surpassing in the first-named commodity the quantity raised in the American Cotton belt.

Sir Samuel Baker, one of the greatest authorities on the Sudan, has said :—

"The Cotton-plant is indigenous throughout the fertile provinces; it was mentioned by Pliny as the 'wool-bearing tree of Ethiopia.' A three months regular rainfall, including June, July, and August, to the middle of September, renders that portion of the Sudan independent of artificial irrigation. At the same time, when the Cotton Crop ripens there is neither dew nor rain ; therefore everything is in favour of gathering and storing."

The same authority has said :—

"Wheat is not cultivated, as the Arabs do not eat it, but it would grow to perfection."

With the completion of the Suakim-Atbara railway the assured future of the Sudan is only a matter of time, the worst feature against its immediate rapid development being the paucity of adult labour for the working of the land. This difficulty should not however take very long to right itself. Now that peace reigns and the Halfa-Khartoum railway has practically reduced the chances of future war and bloodshed to a minimum, the population in a country like the Sudan will grow apace. It is certain that at the present time sufficient labour would be procurable for the beginnings of agricultural enterprise, and with the splendid prospects of success to

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capitalists and agriculturists that the country offers, a steady flow of immigration will probably ensue from Egypt, Arabia India, and other Eastern countries, and this will give an impetus to the development of the Sudan both commercially and agriculturally. The benefits thus accruing would be far reaching; the Sudanese themselves will be brought more and more in contact with civilization, and the bulk of them being a highly intelligent people, their own personal qualities will be developed and they will be stimulated to work for their share of the world's luxuries, where in the past they have lived more or less in apathy. With increasing prosperity in the Sudan a large demand will spring up for all kinds of goods manufactured in Europe and the import trade should be a very brisk one, as the Sudanese are fond of and will buy extravagantly all necessary articles of dress and even luxuries.

The port of Suakim on the Red Sea, situate about midway between Suez and Aden, should play an important part in the future of the Sudan. As a trading port it is admirably adapted to handle an export and import trade which promises well to assume such large proportions in the near future. As the terminus of a railway which will bring it within about sixteen hours proximity of the most fertile regions, where besides cotton, coffee, and other produce, immense quantities of grain can be grown, it is to be assumed that it will some day rival in commercial importance the busy port of Alexandria in Egypt, and that our Indian dependency and Arabia will not be slow to avail themselves of this source of supply from which to draw the staple food for their inhabitants.

EDWARD NATHAN

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LITERARY NOTES

Les Coutumes Indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire, par MM. F. J. Clozel, Secrétaire-général de la Côte d'Ivoire, et Roger Villamur, Juge-président du Tribunal de Bingerville. Challamel, Paris. Prix 30 frs.

A MOST interesting book dealing with the manners and customs of the people of the Ivory Coast. The authors have been at infinite pains to gather together all the native customs with the idea that many of them would be of great service in forming a code for the use of the tribunals established in the French West African Colonies for the judgment of native cases. As it may be a considerable time before the work of codifying the result of their labours is completed, the authors offer the present as a provisional publication which might be of real assistance to magistrates and officials in the above mentioned Colonies.

The French Colony of the Ivory Coast being the immediate neighbour of the English Colony of the Gold Coast, this book ought to be interesting reading for the magistrates and officials of the latter Colony.

A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia, a narrative of a nine months' journey from the plains of Hawash to the snows of Simien, with a description of the game from Elephant to Ibex, and notes on the manners and customs of the natives, by P. H. G. Powell-Cotton, F.Z.S., F.R.G.S. With illustrations and map. (London: Rowland Ward, Limited, 166 Piccadilly. 1902).

MR. POWELL COTTON'S account of his sporting trip through Abyssinia is an extremely interesting record of the author's experiences during a period of eight and a half months' wanderings in the dominions of the Emperor Menelik from the extreme south to the extreme north.

The work is of course chiefly valuable to the naturalist and as a practical guide to hunters of big game, but it contains much valuable matter relating to the social condition of the various tribes inhabiting the country traversed and vividly portrays the elementary condition of savagery in which the vast proportion of the people now live.

The ruins of palaces and other indications of former culture bear witness to the constant inter-tribal wars which have

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devastated the country, and it would seem that so far as the great proportion of the country is concerned the Churches alone preserve the remnants of a state of culture far superior to the present.

Here are still to be found examples of native art surviving the neglect and indifference of an evidently decadent modern race, and even the more effective devastation wrought by the Dervishes fifteen years ago.

Some idea of the ancient splendours of Abyssinian architecture may be derived from the narrative by James Bruce of Kinnaird of his travels in the country (1768–1773), and many of his descriptions are verified by the personal observations of Mr. Powell-Cotton.

The Social customs of the people and certain elaborate Religious ceremonials are described with considerable care, and many of the incidents related are of a most interesting and suggestive character.

The author was so fortunate as to be specially favoured by the Emperor Menelik, without whose good will and protection he would in many cases have fared badly.

The narrative is given in an unaffected style, and will commend itself to many classes of students and readers from many points of view.

The work is handsomely bound and profusely illustrated, and is dedicated by the author to the Empress Taitu in grateful remembrance of a pleasant sojourn in the capital of her illustrious husband, the Emperor Menelik.

The Eldorado of the Ancients, by Dr. Carl Peters, author of *King Solomon's Golden Ophir*, etc., with two maps and ninety-seven illustrations. (Messrs. C. Arthur Pearson, Limited price 21*s*.)

A BOOK that should be read by every one interested in Africa.

A BOOK ON WEST AFRICA BY "E. D. M."

Affairs of West Africa, by Edmund D. Morel ("E. D. M.") Demy 8vo, cloth, with 32 plates and maps, 12*s*. London: William Heinemann, 21 Bedford Street, W.C.

Mr. William Heinemann's autumn list of publications includes a book by Mr. Edmund D. Morel ("E. D. M.") entitled *Affairs of West Africa*. The volume will deal with numerous questions concerning West Africa which are conspicuously before the public at the present time, and which the author discusses from his usual standpoint of an independent critic.

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BRITISH COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION

It will be remembered that the Association was formed with a guarantee fund of £50,000. It was hoped that Lord Derby would become the first president, but his numerous engagements made this impossible, and the position has been accepted by Sir Alfred L. Jones.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Association, in October, it was decided to contribute £400 to be expended in experimental work in the Sudan.

THE GUARANTEE FUND.

£13,566 PROMISED TO NOVEMBER 1ST.

The following is a list of subscriptions already promised to the British Cotton Growing Association guarantee fund, to be paid (if required) in five annual instalments:—

N. & N.E. Lancashire Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Assoc.	£2,500
Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners	1,000
Sir Alfred L. Jones, K.C.M.G., Liverpool	500
Platt Bros. & Co., Ltd., Oldham	500
Rylands & Sons, Ltd., Manchester	500
Northern Counties Amalgamated Association of Weavers, Accrington ...	500
John Thomson, Manchester...	250
Sir George Cotton, Manchester	250
Asa Lees & Co., Ltd., Oldham	250
F. & A. Swanzy, London	250
R. B. Blaize, Lagos, West Africa	250
Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives	250
Paterson, Zochonis & Co., Manchester	200
W. M. Musgrave, Bolton	200
J. A. Hutton, Manchester	100
John Wrigley and Sons, Liverpool	100
S. Whitley and Co., Halifax	100
H. Harrison, Blackburn	100
Textile Mill Co., Oldham	100
Lees and Wrigley, Oldham	100
The Bannerman Mills Co., Ltd., Manchester	80
Carried forward	£8,080

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Brought forward	£8,080
J. Walkden and Co., Manchester	50
J. Law, Cleckheaton	50
English Card Clothing Co., Ltd., Huddersfield	50
Barlow and Jones, Ltd., Bolton	250
Reyners, Ltd., Ashton-under-Lyne	100
Sun Mill Co., Ltd., Oldham	100
Townley Mill Co., Ltd., Middleton	52½
Eagle Spinning Co., Ltd., Rochdale	50
W. S. Lowe, Stalybridge	25
C. W. Grundy, Manchester	10
Borough Spinning Co., Ltd., Oldham	60
G. Howarth & Co., Ltd., Manchester	50
James Kenyon & Son, Bury	50
Ivy Mill Co., Ltd., Failsworth	50
Tootal, Broadhurst, Lee & Co., Ltd., Manchester	250
J. E. Newton & Bros., Oldham	50
Britannia Mill Co., Huddersfield	40
Greenhalgh & Shaw, Ltd., Bolton	200
Junction Spinning Co., Ltd., Middleton Junction	50
Carrington & Dewhurst, Manchester	25
Royton Spinning Co., Ltd., Royton	63
David Whitehead & Sons, Ltd., Rawtenstal	50
Thornham Spinning Co., Ltd., Royton	86
Oldham Twist Co., Ltd., Oldham	150
Lion Spinning Co., Ltd., Royton	108
A. & A. Crompton & Co., Ltd., Shaw	100
Belgian Mills Co., Ltd., Luzley Brook Shaw	60
King Spinning Co., Ltd., Royton	93
Oak Spinning Co., Ltd., Hollinwood, Oldham	100
Ash Spinning Co., Ltd., Shaw	100
Vine Mill Co. Royton, Ltd., Royton	93
Baerlein & Co., Manchester	50
Northmoor Spinning Co., Ltd., Oldham	50
Prince of Wales Spinning Co., Ltd., Oldham	100
Holly Mill Co., Ltd., Royton	78
Harry Whitehead & Co., Bacup	50
Horrockses, Crewdson & Co., Manchester	500
Beal Spinning Co., Ltd., Shaw	100
Nixon & Killick, Chorley	50
Green-lane Spinning Co., Ltd., Middleton Junction	50
Westwood Spinning Co., Ltd., Oldham	50
Oldham & Lees Spinning Co., Ltd., Oldham	50
G. & R. Dewhurst, Ltd., Manchester	500
Star Spinning Co., Ltd., Royton	101
Springhead Spinning Co., Ltd., Lees	107
M. Broadbent & Son, Greenfield	80
R. Shiers & Bros., Oldham	50
Carried forward	£12,611½

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Brought forward	£12,611½
Wm. Bodden & Son, Ltd., Oldham	50
Norman Mill Co., Ltd., Oldham...	50
Armitage & Rigby, Ltd., Manchester	50
Storey Bros. & Co., Ltd., Lancaster	50
Holyrood Mill Co., Ltd., Oldham	50
Halliday & Constantine, Ltd., Manchester	10
Grimshaw Lane Spinning Co., Ltd., Middleton Junction	35
Pine Mill Co., Ltd., Oldham	100
Robert Stott, Oldham	100
Emmotts & Wallshaw, Ltd., Oldham	100
Werneth Spinning Co., Ltd., Oldham	135
Crawford Spinning Co., Ltd., Rochdale	100
Shaw Spinning Co., Ltd., Shaw	70
Edwards Brothers, Liverpool	50
	£13,566½

It is with great pleasure we publish a list of the subscribers to the Guarantee Fund of the British Cotton Growing Association. The sum proposed to be raised is £50,000. This large sum of money is to be expended in making experiments in cotton-growing in all parts of British Africa.

There is little doubt that this great undertaking will be a success in the near future, as it is evident from the correspondence we have received on the subject that cotton of a suitable quality can be produced in Africa. Messrs. John Walkden and Co. of Manchester, have very kindly forwarded to this Society a sample of cotton grown at Abeokuta along with the broker's report thereon. (See *post.*)

The sample of cotton can be seen at the African Society's Office, 22, Albemarle Street.—[ED.]

4, MINSHULL STREET,
MANCHESTER,
Sept. 5, 1902.

COUNT DE CARDI, *Hon. Sec. African Society,*
22, Albemarle St., London, W.

DEAR SIR,

Since forwarding you sample of African cottons grown at Abeokuta in the hinterland of Lagos, we have received our Broker's report thereon, copy of which please find enclosed herewith.

You will observe that the report refers to 2 Bales, Nos. 1 & 2; please note that samples sent you are taken from both Bales and are mixed together.

Yours truly,

JOHN WALKDEN.

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4, MINSHULL STREET,
MANCHESTER,
Sept. 6, 1902.

COUNT DE CARDI, *Hon. Sec. African Society*,
22, Albemarle St., London, W.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of y'day's date duly to hand. You will already have received our Broker's report on the cotton which gives you the required information as to comparison with American.

We are given to understand that this sample was grown from imported seed obtained from the Botanic station at Lagos, but we do not know exactly the origin of the seed.

Any further information which we may obtain we will most willingly give you.

Yours truly,
HARRY J. JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AFRICAN COTTONS.

DEAR SIRS,

We have examined the 2 samples of the above Cotton and have also shewn them to several buyers, who agree with us that such Cotton would find a ready sale at about 3/16th per lb. on the price of American Contracts, provided that a sufficient quantity was to come here so that the buyer would be certain of all that he required.

The staple of No. 1 is silky and fairly long, No. 2 is rather shorter with more waste and is not worth quite so much, but both samples are free from dirt and seed, which is absolutely necessary, if such Cotton is to be saleable. In colour it would compete with tingy American, and if there happened to be a good supply of this, the value of African would suffer to some extent. At first, as we have not had any of this growth for so many years, it might be necessary to tempt buyers, but we are certain to make a market for it on the basis we have named if once we could assure buyers that quantity was coming, say 3 or 4 thousand bales in a season. If you wish the 2 Bales sold we shall look out for some one who will really try the Cotton and report on it, which would be about the best test you could have.

Please let us therefore know the weight.

Yours, &c.,

No. 1, if here in quantity, value $5\frac{1}{16}d.$ to-day.
No. 2, ,, ,, at about $\frac{1}{8}d.$ less.
And it will vary according to the value of American.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

† = Life Members. * = Original Members.

*ABRAHAM, J. D., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*ADAM, Edward, M.D., M.R.C.S., 95, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
*ADDAQUAY, T., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*AFRICAN ASSOCIATION, LIMITED, The, 43, Castle Street, Liverpool.
1902 ALEXANDER, Lieutenant Boyd, F.Z.S., Wilsley, Cranbrook, Kent.
*ALLDRIDGE, T. J., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., District Commissioner, Bonthe, Sherbro, West Africa.
*ALLEN, Miss S. Murray, 41, Egerton Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
*ALLEYN, J. P., 40, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.
*ANAMAN, Rev. Jacob Benjamin, F.R.G.S., F.R.Met.Soc., F.R.C.I., Saltpond, Gold Coast, West Africa.
*†ANDERSON, The Hon. Lady, Tannheim, Bournemouth.
1902 ANDREWS, J. B., The Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
*ANNAN, John, Selborne House, 11, Ironmonger Lane, E.C.
*ANTROBUS, Mrs. R. L. (Council), 19, Cranley Gardens, S.W.
*ARMINJON, Pierre, Cairo, Egypt.
*ASKWITH, G. R., 26, Walsingham House, Piccadilly, W.
*ASQUITH, Right Hon. H. H., P.C., M.P., 20, Cavendish Square, W.
*AVEBURY, Right Hon. Lord, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., D.L. (President), High Elms, Farnborough, R.S.O. Kent.

*BAILEY, W. J., 24, Chancery Lane, E.C.
1902 BAILLAUD, Émile, Observatoire de Toulouse, Haute Garonne, France.
*BALFOUR, Henry, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
*BANK OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
1902 BARRETT-LENNARD, Captain John, 6, St. Leonard's Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.
1902 BARTON, William, The Gold Coast Exploration and Trading Co., Ltd., 34, Clement's Lane, E.C.
*†BATTY, The Hon. J. H., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*BATTY, Mrs. V. Roy, 40, Harley House, Regent's Park, W.
1901 BAYLDON, Edward Herbert, J.P., Oaklands, Dawlish, Devon.
*BEAZLEY, C. Raymond (Council), Merton College, Oxford.
*BEDDOES, Major H. R., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall.
1901 BELL, James. A.I.N.A., 28, Chapel Street, Liverpool.
1902 BENTLEY, The Rev. William Holman, Baptist Missionary Society, Wathen, Tumba, Congo Free State, S.W. Africa (*viâ* Antwerp).
1901 BEST, Frank Norman, 5, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1902 BEST, Thomas Alexander Vans, B.A., F.R.G.S., H.M. Judicial Officer and Collector, Government Offices, Blantyre, British Central Africa.

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*BEYNON, Richard, Market Place, Newbury.
*BINEY, J. E., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*BISHOP, Mrs. J. F., The Hurst, Hartford, Huntingdon.
*†BLAIZE, R. B. (Council), Lagos, West Africa.
1901 BLEASBY, D. P., 14, Albany Road, Southport.
1902 BLES, M S., The Beeches, Broughton Park, Manchester.
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1902 BRIGHT, Major R. G. T., C.M.G., 98, Cromwell Road, S.W.
1902 BROOKE, Rev. Stopford, 1, Manchester Square, W.
1902 BROOKE, Major-General E., 65, Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington, W.
*BROWN, J. P., Ntwaakro House, Tulsin Street, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*†BRUCE, Mrs. A. Livingstone, 2, Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
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*BUXTON, Sir T. Fowell, Bart., G.C.M.G., D.L., Warlies, Waltham Abbey.
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*CLARK, Mrs. William, 2 E, The Mansions, Bramham Gardens, S.W.
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*EVERSLEY, Miss Mary W., 19, Bennett Street, Bath.
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*HAYFORD, E. James, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
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1901 HEINEMANN, William, 6, Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.
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*MYRES, J. L., M.A., F.S.A. (Council), 1, Wellington Place Oxford.
1902 MYRES, Lindo S., 9, Clarges Street, W.

*NASSAU, Rev. Robert Hamill, M.D., D.D., Batanga, Kamerun South-West Africa.
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*PEEL, The Hon. W., 18, Arlington Street, W.
*PENGELLY, J. B., Enderley, Elmfield Road, Bromley, Kent.
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1901 PERKS, George D., Hamilton House, Victoria Embankment.
1901 PERRYMAN, C. W., J.P., 41, Charing Cross Road, S.W.
*PIETERSON, W. E., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*PLANGE, Henry, 67, Melbourne Grove, East Dulwich.
*POBEE, Charles, Matwimuha House, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*POLLOCK, Sir Frederick, Bart., LL.D., 48, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1901 PONSONBY, The Hon. Arthur C., 11, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
1902 PORDAGE, Frederick, Superintendent Public Works, Collector of Revenue, Judicial Officer, Entebbe, Uganda, *viâ* Mombasa, East Africa.
1902 POURRIÈRE, A., Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, 6, Castle Street, Liverpool.
*POWELL, J. H., Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
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*PROBSTHAM, Arthur, 42, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.
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1902 RAYNER, Sir Thomas Crossley, 18, Carlisle Road, Hove, Sussex, and Lagos.
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*RUSSELL, H. B. W., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*RUTSON, Mrs., 74, Eaton Square, S.W.

*†ST. JOHN, Captain Arthur J., 32, Well Walk, Hampstead.
*SAM, W. G., Tarkwa, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
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*SHARP, Mrs. M. C., Cintra, Hampstead Lane, Highgate, N.
*SHAW, P. A., Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
*SHELFORD, Frederic, B.Sc., M.Inst.C.E., F.R.G.S. (Council), 35A, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
*SHELFORD, William, C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E. (Council), 35A, Great George Street, S.W.
1901 SHIELD, Arthur Hindhaugh, 35A, Great George Street, Westminster.
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1901 TIMMIS, Ilius Augustus, 2, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
*TITHERINGTON, Rev. A. F., Brighton College, Brighton.
1902 TRIGGE, Joseph E., The Niger Company, Limited, Surrey House Victoria Embankment, W.C.
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*TURTON, C. D. (Hon. Librarian), Kismet, Riverdale Road, Twickenham Park.
*TYLOR, E. B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., The Museum House, Oxford.

*VANDERSPUIJE, Chief John, Accra, Gold Coast.

*WALKDEN, J. (Messrs. J. Walkden & Co., Ltd.), 4, Minshull Street, Manchester.
1902 WALLACE, William, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., Deputy High Commissioner, Northern Nigeria, The Retreat, Castle Hill, Maidenhead.
1901 WALLACH, Henry, 35, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W.
1902 WALLIS-COX, James, 22, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick, W.
*WARD, Mrs. Humphry, 25, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
1902 WATERS, William, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
1902 WATTS, Walter, Agent-General, The Niger Company, Limited, The Limes, London Road, Retford, Nottinghamshire.

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*WRIGHT, C. T. Hagberg, LL.D. (Council), 1, Wellington Chambers, York Street, S.W.

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*†ZOCHONIS, J. B., 42, Whitworth Street, Manchester.

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MICHELL, Henry C., 32, Highfield Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.
MOREL, Mrs. Mary, Stafford House, Hawarden, Chester.
ROGERSON, T. Stanley, J.P., 20, Alexandra Terrace, Princes' Road, Liverpool.
RUXTON, Captain FitzHerbert, F.R.G.S., The Residency, Yola, Northern Nigeria, West Africa.
SILVERBERG, Isidore, 62, Croxteth Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
STORDY, Robert J., M.R.C.V.S., Nairobi, British East Africa.
TAMBACI, The Hon. Caralambus, Lagos, West Coast of Africa.
TREVOR, Charles Milner, 34 and 36, Gresham Street, E.C.
VOHSEN, Ernst (late German Consul, West Africa), 29, Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, S.W.
YERBURGH, Robert Armstrong, M.P., 25, Kensington Gore, S.W.

LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION

Abadie, Captain G. H. Fanshawe, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (British Resident, Zaria Province), The Residency, Zaria, Northern Nigeria.
Bagshawe, Arthur G., B.A., Ch.B., B.C. (Cantab.), M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Anglo-German Boundary Commission, Uganda.
Barnes, C. A. A., Civil Engineer, Prospect House, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
Couper, J., Manager, Bank of British West Africa, London.
Daw, John W., M.E., C.E., M.I.M.M., General Manager, Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, 4, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing, W.
Egyir-Asaam, Rev. Fynn, Principal, Grammar School, and Editor, *Gold Coast Leader*, Dawson Hill, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
Fearnsides, John W., 5, Davies Street, Berkeley Street, W.
Maxwell, T. W., Barrister, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
Newton, John E. (J. E. Newton Bros., Oldham), Lynwood, Oldham.
Perugia, F., Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.
Thursby, Mrs. Alice, 53, Upper Berkeley Street, W.
Vischer, Hanns, B.A., F.R.G.S., 14, Sonnenberg Strasse, Berne, Switzerland.

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LIST OF DONATIONS, 1900–1901

	£	s.	d.
Abbot, George, M.R.C.S., 33, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells		10	6
African Association, Limited, The, 43, Castle Street, Liverpool...	52	10	0
Annan, John, 54, Coleman Street, E.C.	10	0	0
Anonymous (per Lady Johnston)	2	2	0
Askwith, G. R., 26, Walsingham House, Piccadilly, W.	4	0	0
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H., P.C., M.P., 20, Cavendish Square, W.	5	0	0
Atkinson, Rev. Dr., Clare College Lodge, Cambridge	5	5	0
Atkinson, Mrs., Clare College Lodge, Cambridge...	5	5	0
Bailey, W. J., 24, Chancery Lane, E.C.	2	2	0
Beynon, Richard, Market Place, Newbury	2	2	0
Bickerdike, Mrs., Belmont, Greystones, Co. Wicklow	1	0	0
Bishop, Mrs. J. F. (first donation), The Hurst, Hartford, Huntingdon	2	2	0
Blaize, R. B., Lagos, West Africa	100	0	0
Bruce, Mrs. A. L., 2, Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh	3	0	0
Burkitt, F. C., 12, Harvey Road, Cambridge	2	2	0
Burnham, Rev. A. L., 10, Grange Crescent Road, Sheffield ...		5	0
Buxton, Noel E., Warlies, Waltham Abbey	2	2	0
Buxton, Sir T. Fowell, Bart., G.C.M.G., D.L., Warlies, Waltham Abbey	5	0	0
Cardi, The Count de, 18, Grange Road, Chiswick...	2	2	0
Chalmers, Lady, 8, Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh	4	0	0
Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, 8, Old Jewry, E.C. ...	5	5	0
Copeland, Mrs. H. M., 27, Addison Road, W.	5	5	0
Copeland, W. H. L., M.D., 4, Bolton Gardens, S.W.	5	0	0
Crosse, Dr. W. H., M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., 37, Albemarle Street, W.	5	5	0
Darwin, Major Leonard, 12, Egerton Place, S.W.	10	0	0
Eversley, Miss E. G., 41, Egerton Gardens, S.W.	1	1	0
Ewart, Miss M. A., Coneyhurst, Ewhurst, Guildford	1	0	0
Ffennell, Miss M. C., 172, The Grove, Hammersmith	1	1	0
Fitzgerald, Mrs., 2, Green Street, W.	5	0	0
Fitzmaurice, The Lady Edmund, 2, Green Street, W.	2	0	0
Giffen, Sir Robert, K.C.B., F.R.S., 40, Brunswick Road, Hove, Brighton	2	2	0
Glaister, Thomas, 40, Priory Street, Birkenhead	1	0	0
Carried forward	£254	8	6

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	254	8	6
Gold Coast Chronicle, Accra, Gold Coast...		10	6
Goldie, Rt. Hon. Sir George T., P.C., K.C.M.G., 11, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.	105	0	0
Gordon, Frederick, Bentley Priory, Stanmore	5	0	0
Green, Mrs. J. R., 14, Kensington Square, W. (first donation) ...	30	0	0
Griffith, Sir William B., Kt., Accra, Gold Coast	1	1	0
Guillemard, Dr. F. H. H., Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge	2	2	0
Gwynn, Stephen, 30, Walpole Street, Chelsea	1	1	0
Harrison, Mrs. St. Leger (Lucas Malet), 3, Bullingham Mansions, Pitt Street, W. (annually for three years)	5	5	0
Hartland, E. Sidney, F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester	4	4	0
Hayford, Rev. Mark C., D.D., F.R.G.S., The Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, S.W.	3	3	0
Herford, C. H., M.A., Litt.D., Brynymor, Parkfield Road, Didsbury, Manchester	1	1	0
Holt, John, 81, Dale Street, Liverpool	100	0	0
Hooper, Wynnard, 13, Sumner Place, S.W....	3	3	0
Hooper, Mrs. Wynnard, 13, Sumner Place, S.W.	5	5	0
Hutton, J. A., The Woodlands, Alderley Edge, Cheshire... ...	5	5	0
Johnston, The Hon. Lady, 27, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park ...	1	1	0
Kemp, Rev. Dennis, 106, Herbert Road, Plumstead, S.E. ...	1	1	0
Kingsley, Charles G., 32, St. Mary Abbot's Terrace, Kensington, W.	100	0	0
Lang-Hyde, Major J. I., R.E., C.M.G., care of Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, W.	1	0	0
Lee, Miss Alice, 229, Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale, W.		10	0
Lee, Thomas R., 229, Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale, W.		10	0
Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, Leicester	10	0	0
Loat, L., F.Z.S., 7, Harvey Road, Cambridge		5	6
Lorimer, Mrs., 1, Bruntsfield Crescent, Edinburgh	1	1	0
Lyall, Sir Alfred C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E., 18, Queen's Gate, S.W. ...	10	10	0
Mackenzie, Miss B. J., Towerside, St. Leonard's Road, Forres, N.B. (annually)		5	0
Macmillan, George A., 19, Earl's Terrace, Kensington	100	0	0
Macphail, Miss, Towerside, St. Leonard's Road, Forres, N.B. ...		5	0
Manneville, M. le Vicomte H. de, French Embassy, Albert Gate, W....	2	2	0
Marment, F. V., 18, Leadenhall Street, E.C.	2	2	0
Micholls, Mrs. Montefiore, 11, Queen's Gate, S.W.	10	0	0
Montagu, Sir Samuel, Bart., M.P., 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.	10	0	0
Moor, His Excellency Sir Ralph D., K.C.M.G., C.M.G., Government House, Southern Nigeria	2	2	0
Morel, Edmund D., 9, Kirby Park, West Kirby, Cheshire ...	1	0	0
Morley, Rt. Hon. John, P.C., M.P., F.R.S., 57, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.	3	3	0
Nathan, Major Matthew, C.M.G., Accra Gold Coast	10	0	0
Neville, G. W., 18, Sussex Place, Regent's Park	10	0	0
Carried forward	803	6	6

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	803	6	6
Nomad Society, The, 5, Agar Street, Strand, W.C.	2	2	0
North, F. W., F.G.S., 60, Cheapside, E.C.	1	1	0
Novikoff, Madame, 2M, Bickenhall Mansions, Portman Square, W.	1	0	0
One Interested		10	6
Owen, C. T., 5, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.	1	1	0
Peel, The Hon. W., 18, Arlington Street, W.	2	2	0
Pengelly, J. B., Enderley, Elmfield Road, Bromley, Kent ...	1	1	0
Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart., LL.D., 48, Great Cumberland Place, S.W.	4	0	0
Price, F. G. Hilton, 17, Collingham Gardens, S.W.	3	3	0
Reid, G. Archdall, M.D., 9, Victoria Road South, Southsea ...		10	6
Ripon, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, K.G., 9, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.	5	0	0
Roth, Henry Ling, 32, Prescott Street, Halifax	2	2	0
Roy, Mrs., Holmleigh, West Road, Cambridge	5	5	0
Rugby Friend, A	1	1	0
Rutson, Mrs., 74, Eaton Square, S.W.	20	0	0
Samuel, Mrs. Sylvester, 80, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	2	2	0
Sauer, The Hon. Hans, M.D., Bath Club, Dover Street, S.W. ...	5	0	0
Shelford, William, C.M.G., M. Inst. C.E., 35A, Great George Street, S.W.	5	0	0
Shore, L. E., M.D., St. John's College, Cambridge	2	2	0
Sierra Leone Branch Society (per The Hon. J. J. Thomas)... ...	53	0	6
Smith, Sir J. Smalman, Courtfield, Wellesley Road, Chiswick ...	2	2	0
Smith, A. Murray, 40, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.	10	10	0
Smith, Miss E. Toulmin, 1, Park Terrace, Oxford...	1	1	0
Strachey, J. St. Loe, Newlands Corner, Merrow, Guildford ...	1	1	0
Swanzy, F., 147, Cannon Street, E.C. (and 5 guineas annually)...	20	0	0
Taylor, John F., K.C., 4, Ely Place, Dublin	3	3	0
Thomasson, C. J. P., Woodside, Bolton, Lancs.	5	0	0
Trinity, The Rev. The Master of, Cambridge		10	0
Turner, Miss E., Langton Green, Tunbridge Wells		10	6
Walkden, Messrs. J. and Co., Ltd., 4, Minshull Street, Manchester	2	2	0
Walker, Miss, Roan School for Girls, Devonshire Road, Greenwich		10	0
Ward, Mrs. Humphry, 25, Grosvenor Place, S.W. (first donation)	10	0	0
Williams, The Hon. C. Riby, C.M.G., Accra, Gold Coast ...		10	6
Wolfe, Miss E. S., Jarvis Brook, Sussex	5	0	0
Total	982	10	0

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DONATIONS, 1902.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, 1900–1901	982	10	0
Cookson, Edward Hatton, 3, Mersey Street, Liverpool	50	0	0
Ffennell, Miss M. C., 172, The Grove, Hammersmith	1	1	0
Mackenzie, Miss B. J., Towerside, St. Leonard's Road, Forres, N.B.		5	0
Maltby, Lieut. Gerald, R.N., Assistant Secretary, Imperial Institute, S.W.	2	2	0
Nathan, His Excellency Major Sir Matthew, K.C.M.G., Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa	5	0	0
Perugia, F., Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.	5	0	0
Wing and Eade, Messrs., 1, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.	5	5	0
Total	£1,051	3	0

OBITUARY.

It is with deep regret we have to record the death since our last issue of one of our original members :

Mrs. Kent, of Grassendale, Liverpool.

She was a great admirer of the late Miss Mary Kingsley and took a deep interest in her work and the work of this Society.

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BOOKS PRESENTED TO THE LIBRARY DURING THE SIX MONTHS ENDING OCTOBER, 1902

Book.	*Author.*	*Donor.*
1. Benga-Bantu Grammar	Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D.	The Author.
2. The Gold Coast Past and Present.	George Macdonald	,, ,,
3. Folk-Tales of Angola.....	Heli Chatelain	Bishop Hartzell.
4. Kimbundu Hymns	—	,, ,,
5. Gospel according to Matthew in Kimbundu.	—	,, ,,
6. Do. do. Luke ...	—	,, ,,
7. Do. do. John ...	—	,, ,,
8. Xilenge Grammar	—	Miss A. Werner.
9. Book of Common Prayer in Luganda.	—	,, ,,
10. Chinyanja Exercise Book	M. E. Woodward	,, ,,
11. Grammar of the Ibo Language	Rev. J. Spencer	,, ,,
12. Do. do. Sena do. ...	W. G. Anderson	,, ,,
13. Zigua Exercises	Rev. W. H. Kisbey	,, ,,
14. Handbook of Luganda	G. L. Pilkington	,, ,,
15. Luganda Proverbs	—	,, ,,
16. Chi-nyanja Simplified	R. Caldwell	,, ,,
17. Handbook of the Yao Language	Rev. A. Hetherwick	,, ,,
18. Les Coutumes Indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire.	F. J. Clozel and R. Villamur.	The Authors.
19. West African Year-Book, 1902	—	Samuel Montague Gluckstein.
20. Voyages et Etudes d'une Femme, dans l'Afrique Occidentale (Mary Kingsley).	Henri Rolin, Professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles.	The Author.

NOTICE TO BINDER.

Lord Avebury's Address to be bound up with the January 1903 Journal.

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

All applications for advertisement space to be addressed to—

THE SECRETARY OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET,
LONDON, W.

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THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

(*Founded in Memory of Mary Kingsley.*)

SESSION 1902–1903.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

THE first meeting of the Session was held in the theatre of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on the afternoon of Wednesday, November 5th.

There was a large and influential audience, presided over by the Right Hon. Lord Avebury, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President of the Society. Among those present were Lady Avebury, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Antrobus, Major-General E. Brooke, Major Alder Burdon, Major H. Bryan, Mr. Alfred C. Cronin, Mr. E. Haigh Chalmers, Count de Cardi, Hon. Secretary, Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Downing, Mr. J. J. Fischer, Rear-Admiral G. W. Hand, Mr. James Irvine, Lieut.-Col. J. C. S. Irvin, Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., and the Hon. Lady Johnston, the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E., and Mrs. E. Popham Lobb, the Hon. Misses Lubbock, Mrs. E. Montefiore Nichols, Mr. Geo. B. Michell, Sir John Smalman Smith, Lady Smalman Smith and Miss Smalman Smith, Mrs. H. Sylvester Samuel and Miss Sylvester Samuel, Mr. F. Shelford, M.Inst.C.E., F.R.G.S., Mr. J. T. A. Stopford, Col. J. G. B. Stopford, Hon. Treasurer, Mr. C. D. Turton, Hon. Librarian, Miss Werner, and many others.

President's Address.

LORD AVEBURY addressed the meeting and said :—

Although started so recently the African Society has already made great progress. The Council was fortunate in securing

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Lord Ripon for the first President and perhaps the only mistake made has been not retaining him in the Chair.

Africa has three great claims on our attention: of all the continents it is perhaps the least known; the least civilised—which is all the more remarkable as the civilisation of Egypt dates back to very early times; and one for the most important part of which we are responsible.

The continent itself is no doubt of great antiquity. A great part consists of Archæan and Palæozoic rocks. Mr. White, in his work "On the Development of Africa," considers that proof of this is afforded by the singular uniformity and simplicity of its coast, which "shows a general absence of large estuaries, deep bays, narrow gulfs, firths, and fords, all of which are such characteristic features of North Western Europe."[1] I doubt however whether this is due to the antiquity of the continent, and should rather regard it as indicating that the last change of level, has been a lowering of the sea relatively to the land. However this may be, as Réclus says, its form is "d'une régularité et d'une simplicité presque géométrique."

The simple character of the coast line is well brought out by the fact that while the area of Europe is not much more than one-third that of Africa—9,900,000 square kil.[2] against 29,125,000—the length of coast line is considerably greater, being about 19,000 miles, while that of Africa is little more than 15,000.

It is indeed a massive and monotonous continent, giving as compared with others an impression of age, solidity, and repose. Volcanoes are few and confined to a part of the Eastern regions; earthquakes are almost unknown, excepting in the Atlas range, which indeed is European rather than African.

Of all parts of the earth South Africa is that in which the line of 1,000 metres approaches nearest to the sea-coast, while at no great distance the bottom sinks abruptly to abyssal depths.

The Atlas range both in structure and in its fauna is, as Sallust suggested long ago, rather European than African. In fact Africa may in some senses be said to commence with the desert. There is indeed good reason to suppose that the outlet from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic was formerly not through

[1] *L.c.*, p. 2. [2] Réclus, *La Terre*, 86.

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the Straits of Gibraltar, but south of the Atlas by Kebir, Melghir, and the valley of the Draa. The northern range consists of folded strata, offering a fairly complete series of geological formations. The greater part of northern Egypt is of Tertiary age, but between Assouan and Berber is a mass of Archæan rock, which touches the Nile in several places, giving rise to the Cataracts, supplies the great Egyptian Obelisks, and stretches northwards on a long belt along the western shore of the Red Sea, while on the east it forms the Djebel-Moussa, or Mountain of the Law.

What we call the Nile is in fact the river bed during the season of low water, Egypt itself being the flood bed of the river.

Abyssinia to the south comprises a great igneous region. Aden is built in the crater of an extinct volcano.

The Atlas is a folded range, but south of it the true Africa is a great plateau, or rather, owing to numerous fractures, a series of plateaus. The height is probably due not to elevation of the higher ground, but to subsidences of the surrounding regions.

The Sahara, long supposed to have been within comparatively recent times a marine basin, shows none of the later sedimentary rocks, but is said to consist mainly of carboniferous limestone, sandstone, and quartz.

The fact that Central Africa consists of a series of plateaus, dropping down step by step to the ocean, has led to the result that so many of the great rivers are only navigable for a certain distance from the sea above which they descend in great cataracts or waterfalls from the higher plains above.

This moreover throws some light on the absence of volcanoes. The Pacific, as we know, is surrounded by a ring of fire. The Atlantic coasts are almost without volcanoes. The intense pressure of the earth forces which have thrown the Andes and the eastern coasts of the Pacific into great folds have produced intense heat, which is shown in the volcanic fires. If, however, the coast lines of Africa have been determined by the subsidence of the surrounding areas, such pressure would not have occurred, and heat would not be produced.

Another result of the depth of the ocean round the African coasts is the nearly complete absence of islands. Those which do occur, moreover, are mostly of volcanic origin.

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The average height of the African continent is considered to be about 2,000 feet, which is greater than that of Europe or America, or even Asia, which is estimated at 1,600 to 1,700 feet.

Considering the antiquity of the African continent, it is, however, remarkable that the rivers have not more nearly attained their "regimen," but present great cataracts—such as those of the Nile, the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, and those of the Congo, the Orange River, &c.

The rivers themselves are of great magnitude and mystery.

The Nile is now considered to attain a length of 4,300 miles, —the greatest in the world; while the Congo, though slightly inferior to the Nile in drainage,—1,350,000 as against 1,500,000—surpasses it in volume and is indeed only exceeded in this respect by the Amazon.

The sources of the Nile have been a mystery from the time of Herodotus till recently; the course of the Niger was long a matter of discussion; and the relations of the upper waters of the Congo, the Nile and the Zambesi have not yet indeed been entirely cleared up.

Much light has, however, been thrown upon the subject of late years, especially by the remarkable discoveries of the great equatorial lakes—another magnificent feature of Central Africa. The Victoria Nyanza, 26,600 square miles, is indeed almost the largest sheet of fresh water in the world, being second only to Lake Superior, 33,500 square miles.

As regards general outline, Africa like so many other great land masses, forms a cone pointing to the south. Many of these cones, moreover, have an island, or group of islands, at their extremity, as South America, which is terminated by Tierra del Fuego; India has Ceylon; Malacca has Sumatra and Borneo; the southern extremity of Australia ends in Tasmania or Van Diemen's Land; a chain of Islands runs from the end of the peninsula of Alaska; Greenland has a group of islands at its extremity; and Sicily lies close to the southern termination of Italy.

This is, I believe, connected with the great preponderance of water in the Southern Hemisphere.

Without at the present moment entering upon any discussion as to the cause which has produced this remarkable result, the

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fact at any rate seems to throw some light on the southern direction of promontories. For, let us suppose three tracts of land, each trending north and south, each with a central backbone, but one with a general slope southwards, one with a northward slope, and the third without any. The first will, of course, form a peninsula pointing southwards, because, as we proceed southwards, less and less of the surface will project above the water, until nothing but the central ridge remains. The other two, however, would also assume the same form, because, though by the hypothesis the land does not sink, still, the gradual preponderance of water would produce the same effect.

If, moreover, the central mountain ridge, as is so generally the case, presents a series of detached summits, the last of such undulations which rises above the water-level will necessarily form an island. This suggests a possible reason for the position of Ceylon, Tierra del Fuego, &c. Africa, however, unlike the other south-pointing lands, has no island at its extremity. This I have suggested is due to the fact that the Cape of Good Hope is not a folded range but a table mountain, bounded by two converging areas of subsidence, which meet at Cape Town. In such a case no island would be present.

The continent of Africa presents in many respects, as has already been pointed out—see for instance Réclus, *La Terre*, i. 71—a striking similarity to South America. They have the same general structure, the same triangular form, the same slightly curved coast-lines. On the other hand there are many contrasts and the relation is one rather of symmetry than of homology.

It is a point of contrast, not of similarity, that the rivers of both continents drain for the most part into the Atlantic: the highest mountains of S. America are on the west; those of Africa—Kenia, 18,000 feet, Kilimanjaro 19,000 feet and Ruwenzori 20,000 feet—are on the east: the two isthmuses, those of Suez and of Panama, occupy opposite angles of the continents.

The Sahara (from Sahra, Arabic for a desert), the greatest desert region on the earth's surface, extends right across the continent from the Atlantic to the valley of the Nile. It appears however to have been, in the opinion of the highest authorities such as Prof. James Geikie and Prof. Hull, at no very

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distant period, a well watered and fertile region, not unlike the Egyptian Sudan. It is no mere flat dreary waste, but presents much variety of colour and contour, cliffs and gorges, hills and valleys, and in some of the lingering pools it is said that crocodiles still occur. According to local tradition the Ouad-Sauf was a great river even as late as the Roman occupation. The idea that it was recently covered by the sea has not been strengthened by recent researches.

The Gulf of Akabah lies in one of the greatest lines of fracture and subsidence on the earth's surface. It forms the valley of the Jordan, the Lake of Tiberias, the Dead Sea, the Wady Araba, and Gulf of Akabah, stopping suddenly at the Red Sea.

The Red Sea itself is a similar instance. We generally think of mountains as raised, but the history of our globe is one of cooling, contracting, crashing, crushing, and subsiding; so that as a rule it is rather the plains and hollows which have subsided, than the plateaus and mountains which have been raised. In this case the Red Sea appears to be as it were a great slip of the earth's surface which has sunk, perhaps the greatest instance of the kind on the face of the earth.

To the north it is bounded by the isthmus of Suez; in itself low, narrow, and insignificant, but which has yet separated the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Indian Ocean from time immemorial; so that the shells and other marine animals of the two seas are quite distinct.

Yet the highest point between the two seas rises only to an altitude of 60 feet; and the isthmus itself is even narrower than it appears upon the map, for on both sides are recent marine deposits, reducing the original width to something like twenty miles. These deposits it may be observed are quite horizontal.

The Red Sea stood at one time relatively about ten feet higher than at present, and the change, as Suess points out, appears to be in the level of the water and not of the land, for the Nile, when Necho made the freshwater canal, seems to have stood at the same level relatively to the upper waters of the river.

So low indeed is the level of the isthmus that even as lately as 1800 a very high Nile carried the river water all but into

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Lake Timsah. The fall of the Nile in the Delta is so slight—only 1 in 25,000—that any alteration of the land level would produce important results.

Yet this barrier, apparently so slight and insignificant, kept separate the waters of the two seas, and compelled European commerce with the East to go round by the Cape, until the Suez Canal was excavated by the energy and genius of M. de Lesseps.

The great southern table-lands rise to an elevation of some 3,500 feet, sinking with a sudden drop to a second plain of about 1300. The Plateau is riven in places by immense fractures, such as those which have given rise to the great lakes, and which are continued up the Red Sea, the Gulf of Akabah, the valley of the Dead Sea (which descends 1,300 feet below the sea-level), and of the Jordan.

The Atlas may be said to be the only African mountain chain. In Southern Africa the range of the Drakenberg slopes up gently towards the south-east, and then drops suddenly; offering thus a succession of steep slopes, of which the Boers knew so well how to avail themselves during the South African war. They had a gentle ascent up which to draw their guns and supplies, and we had to attack up very precipitous, in most places almost perpendicular, cliffs. Table Mountain at the Cape well expresses this character of the land.

The African Lakes belong to several categories. Some, like Tanganyika, occupy lines of great earth movements. Others are probably due to differential depressions, such as Victoria Nyanza, others are crater lakes, and others no doubt owe their origin to rockfalls. The African Lakes are remarkable for their elevation, Lake Tana being 1,755 m. above the sea.

The centre of Africa contains a great forest region, several hundred thousand square miles in extent,[1] and of great interest to us as the winter home of so many of our birds. The forest is not, however, perhaps so extensive or so dense as was once supposed.[2] On the higher plateaus and to the south are immense tracts of rolling, grassy steppes, and in the centre of the south is the great Kalahari desert. The forests, moreover, seem likely in the future to be a considerable source of wealth.

[1] Keane, *Africa*, ii. 101. [2] Sievers, *Africa*, 103.

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The mahogany trees of the West Coast, and the so-called cedar (Widringtonia Whytei) of the Central African Forest, and other trees supply fine timber.

We associate palms very much with Africa; and the Date is perhaps as important and even indispensable to desert life as the camel. The Sahara suits it admirably, as it is said to flourish only when it can have its head in the fire, and its roots in the water. Nevertheless palms are more numerous in Asia and America.[1]

The grasses, on the contrary, are immensely developed in Africa, and savannahs occupy a large part of the high table land.

Many of the plants are very curious. It is said that the so-called "wait a bit" thorn, a species of acacia, may remain for years without leaves till rain comes. Among other remarkable species are the tree groundsels, and tree lobelias twenty feet high, the baobab, the kola nut, the welwitschia.

Nevertheless Africa has not produced any great number of the most useful plants. Even the durra is perhaps not of African origin.

The principal cultivated plants which we owe to Africa are the coffee—said to derive its name from the Kaffa Country south of Abyssinia,—the cotton and the date. The oil palm—Elæis Guineensis—is a tree of great commercial importance, but is supposed by some to be of American origin. The earthnut (Arachis hypogæa) is another very important food plant.

Africa is pre-eminently the country of big game. It is remarkable, however, that the bear, the goat, the sheep, the pig, the horse, and the stag, the noblest perhaps of all—the "thier *par excellence*" of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors—do not occur south of the Atlas; and the camel, now so associated in our minds with the desert, does not appear on any of the ancient monuments, and is said to have been introduced by the Arabs in the seventh century.

The two principal domestic animals which we owe to Africa are the ass and the cat. The lion belongs to Asia as well as Europe, but the African elephant, the hippopotamus, the

[1] Sievers, *Africa*, 170.

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giraffe, the gorilla and chimpanzee, the okapi, zebrasi numerous antelopes and many other interesting forms are peculiar to Africa. The quagga and Burchell's zebra appear to have been unfortunately exterminated, and the range of many other species has been greatly reduced by the reckless action of man.

Steps however have now been taken which it is hoped will put an end to, or at any rate check, this wholesale slaughter.

"New regulations for the preservation of game have been promulgated, which carry out the principles agreed upon at the International Game Conference held in London in 1900. Game does not appear to be on the decrease in the Protectorate, except, possibly, in the immediate vicinity of European settlements. In Angoniland there are still large numbers of elephants: in this district a few months ago I met with a herd containing over 100."[1] Sir Harry Johnston tells us that along the route of the Uganda railway antelopes, zebras, and ostriches graze close to the line, as fearless of man as if they were in an English park. It is greatly to be hoped that the Belgian Government will co-operate with ours in protecting the Okapi.

The late Professor Drummond in his work on Africa states, that in Africa ants and white ants take the place and perform the functions of earthworms. In some districts, however, these useful creatures are as important as with us, and it is said that before attempting to cultivate a farm the Yoruba is careful to see whether worms have prepared the soil. One species is a foot long, and bright blue in colour.

The population of Africa is generally estimated at something over 200,000,000, but the number is really quite uncertain. The Berbers and Arabs occupy the Mediterranean coast and the Atlas; Hamitic tribes predominate in the Sahara and in the north-east; Negroes in the centre, and the great Bantu races to the south; and lastly, the Hottentots and Bushmen, which present certain Mongolic resemblances, and indicate, I believe, the former existence of a Mongolic race. The Native races have suffered terribly from the Arabs and the slave trade, and those in the south not a little from the Boers.

[1] *Trade and General Condition of the British Central Africa Protectorate for the Year* 1901–1902, p. 18.

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If we occupy a proponderating position in Africa, the efforts and sacrifices we have made, the millions of money we have spent and the thousands of lives we have lost in endeavouring to put down slavery and oppression and to secure for the natives the inestimable blessings of freedom, justice, and peace, fully justify it seems to me the position we hold.

Another reason ought not perhaps to be forgotten. We recognise what we owe to ancient explorers—to Sankhara, and Necho, and Hanno; and in more modern times to explorers belonging to other European nations, from Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama to Marchand; but after all it wi l hardly be maintained that any other nation has contributed so much to the exploration of Africa as we have. Amongst other honoured names those of Bruce and Park, Denham Clapperton and Lander, Speke and Grant, Burton and Baker, Galton, Livingstone and Moffat, Cameron and Stanley, Thomson and Sir Harry Johnston at once occur to us.

It may, I think, reasonably be believed that the extension of British power, and we may hope also of Belgian, French, German and Italian, will be a great blessing to the natives. Their condition has indeed of late, and probably for a very long period, been deplorable in the extreme. The native rulers were many of them cruel, arbitrary, and bloodthirsty, inflicting tortures and death for the most trivial offences, war was incessant,[1] and the slave trade, introduced of late years by the Arabs carried misery and terror throughout a great part of Central Africa.

On the Gold Coast the public executioners "formed a numerous section of the community,"[2] poisoners were a recognised class, human sacrifices were terribly numerous, in fact blood was always flowing, and the Golgothas at Kumassi, the royal

[1] It has been estimated, says Sir Harry Johnston, though the estimate must surely be an exaggeration, that "until the British Protectorate became effective, five per cent. of the Negro population of these countries was killed every year by the poison ordeal. In most districts there was not a single woman of fifty but had had perhaps ten times in her life to flee into the bush and conceal herself there half-starved, whilst her native village was in the hands of slave-raiders, invading Zulus, or the soldiery of her own chief, who were amusing themselves and their master by a little rapine and shedding of blood."

[2] Keane, *Africa*, p. 378.

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residence in Ashanti, presented sights of indescribable horror when entered by our troops in 1874.

Perhaps the greatest source of misery was the slave trade, and the horrors of the middle passage were only equalled by the miseries of the overland journeys. The caravan route across the desert to Tripoli was graphically described by Rohlfs—"On both sides of the route are seen the blanched bones of dead slaves many of the skeletons being still wrapped in their blue negro garment. Any one ignorant of the way to Bornu would only have to follow the bones strewn right and left of the path."

Happily this is now being altered. The natives are increasing, becoming more prosperous, and commencing to lead a more civilised and comfortable life, with security for property and life.

On the other hand the advent of Europeans has by no means been an unmixed benefit. Gin, guns, and gunpowder have caused death, disease, and misery in Africa as elsewhere. Moreover, some European nations—I forbear to particularise—are by no means free from the guilt of connivance at, and even participation in the slave trade itself.

But even the best intentions will not be sufficient unless we realise the problems with which we have to deal. Mere mistakes may lead to serious misunderstandings and much misery.

How easy it would be to make mistakes, which might be serious, may be illustrated by the fact that spitting at a person amongst some of the Nilotic tribes is a mark of friendship and respect. This surprised Petherick long ago. Sir Harry Johnston tells us that "every unknown object which they regard with reverence, such as a passing train, is spat at. Newly-born children are spat on by every one who sees them." They are now being laughed out of the custom by the Swahilis, and Indian coolies who have our ideas on the subject.

The name "Damara" is quite unknown to the natives and seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding. It means literally "two Dama women." The native who supplied the name seems to have understood the question to apply to two women who happened to be passing by at the moment.

Another well known name—the Bechuana—seems also to have arisen from a mistake. It means literally "they are the same,"

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and the native who was asked the name seems to have said that certain Natives belonged to the same race as those about whom they had previously been speaking.

Mr. Keane is of opinion [1] that if the Foreign Office had been better informed as to the relations of the tribes on the Red Sea coast during the rule of the Mahdi, much trouble and useless bloodshed might have been avoided.

The study of the law relating to land tenure is specially important, and we have already had communications on this subject by Mr. Clozel, Mr. Keith, and "a Native of Yoruba."

The recent promulgation of special forest legislation in Lagos and Southern Nigeria, with the praiseworthy desire to prevent destruction of forest trees, has provoked some criticism. In some quarters—especially in commercial circles—considerable misgiving has been occasioned by the very extensive scope of this legislation. The fear has been expressed lest the passing of these laws might unwittingly lead to the natives believing it to be the official intention to interfere with their land, and the products of it. The Natives naturally attach immense importance to their rights in the land and it would be both extremely unjust and unwise to interfere with them. It is felt on all hands that a scientific study of native land-tenure in every part of West Africa is absolutely essential if future mistakes are to be avoided. The question of native land-tenure is one of the most important in the European management of West Africa, and one which the Society is particularly fitted to assist in throwing light upon, by collecting the testimony of experts for publication and study.

It is not, I think, unreasonable to hope that what we have done in Egypt we may accomplish also in Central and Southern Africa. As to Egypt I will quote no English Reports or Bluebooks, but refer to what is said by Mr. Wells, the great American economist—"At no previous period, since Egypt began to have a name, has the fellah lived under a government so careful to protect his rights. Under such circumstances Egypt has never, certainly not within a recent period, enjoyed so large a measure of prosperity."

Considering the unfortunate jealousies which exist between

[1] *Africa*, vol. i. p. 590.

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European nations, the peaceful partition of Africa was perhaps a wise measure. The African Colonies have, however, involved enormous expenditure. Algeria alone has cost France over £150,000,000. Germany is only beginning to realise what a Colonial policy means, and Portugal would consult her own dignity and character for honesty, if she paid her creditors instead of squandering her money on African speculations. Our own expenditure in Africa has been greater than that of any other European country, and from a pecuniary point of view we shall, I fear, never be reimbursed.

It is indeed a great satisfaction, and we may be consoled by the feeling that we have added to the happiness and progress of our fellow creatures, but in a pecuniary sense it is difficult to see what advantage European countries can expect to gain from their African possessions. Trade may diminish the loss, but can never make good the expenditure.

It has been falsely said that we go where there is gold, that we have been attracted for instance by the goldfields of the Transvaal. This is absolutely untrue. So far from making a profit, we have never attempted to derive any pecuniary benefit from any of our Colonial possessions—we shall be fortunate if we recover from the goldfields of the Transvaal one half of the expense it has cost us to free them from the corrupt tyranny of Mr. Kruger, and secure them a voice in the Government of the country, to which they contributed almost the whole of the income.

Herr Sievers in his work on Africa seems as if he wished to be fair, but while he appears to regard any extension of German influence as desirable and even providential, he over and over again speaks of England and France as having "Erobert." He pays a just tribute to the policy of the King of the Belgians in the Congo valley, but has not a word of praise for England, though we have pursued the same wise and unselfish policy.

In fact, in the English sphere of influence we act as trustees. We seek no benefit from the natives for ourselves, and claim no advantage over other countries. If customs duties are levied, our manufacturers pay the same as those of other countries. Canada, indeed, it may be said, gives us a preference, but she

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would doubtless be willing to do the same for other countries who treated her as we do. As Mr. Wells has recently said, "Great Britain alone opens her ports, and imposes no restriction on the trade of other countries, nor seeks to exclude their productions. In this respect England stands alone. No other nation that ever existed, or now exists, has ever adopted a similar policy."

But is this state of things fair to us, or just to the Nation? If France chooses to be protectionist she injures her own people, and we have no right to protest. But the case is different when she imposes differential duties in her Colonial possessions to benefit her own manufacturers, unfairly, at the expense of ours and to the injury of the natives. Trade follows the flag no doubt, but it should do so freely, and not by the compulsion of differential duties. We admit French and Portuguese goods into our Crown Colonies on the same terms as our own, but the French and Portuguese attempt to exclude ours by heavy duties, and I believe in some cases by actual prohibition. If we claim, as we justly may, that France, for instance, should treat us as we treat her, we are not only standing on our right, we are not only making a claim, the justice of which cannot be denied, but we should have the support of neutral nations. I should be sorry to see our policy altered but we might point out that if France and Portugal insist on their differential duties, we might fairly adopt a similar course ourselves. The Berlin Conference of 1885 imposed a Free Trade Policy on the Congo State, and some surrounding districts, and it is difficult to see why the same policy should not be extended.

So far, however, from this being done, even within the so-called Free Trade area, our merchants who have been trading in the country for more than a quarter of a century are now to be excluded. Mr. Holt, for instance, writes that "Our produce has been seized and we have been heavily fined for carrying on a trade which we have largely created."

It is very possible that the exceptional grievances of which Mr. Holt complains, and to which as they point out, English trade is not subjected in other French possessions, have been inflicted without the cognisance of the French Government, and will readily be removed, but the general policy pursued

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of imposing differential duties in support of their own commerce, is one against which we may justly remonstrate, not only on behalf of our own merchants and manufacturers, but in justice especially to the nations themselves. Of fair and friendly rivalry we cannot, and do not, complain.

Young French students and colonists go to Berlin, and examine every institution there. The Germans watch the French policy and ours. Both Germans and French have powerful associations to influence the Government, and to carry on investigations. Both peoples are making most interesting experiments in administration, education, plantation, and the general development of the resources of the country. Both are building up a great Colonial Empire. We shall need to study their methods, and to test our own. Such study could be effectively carried out by an African Society strongly supported.

There is again a very important question growing up—of the need of a great Civil Service, properly trained, for African work. Also indeed of a Military service. A leading mover in French Colonial affairs met recently the Commanding Officer in N. Nigeria, and asked him about the Geology of the country. The officer knew nothing. The Frenchman said afterwards in amazement that not a French officer went out who would not be sufficiently trained to answer such a question. The training of Civil servants for African work is most important. How can our officials satisfactorily superintend the districts entrusted to them unless they have some knowledge of the general principles of tribal law and land-tenure and customs? The present ignorance is profound. The climate and short service make previous training the more necessary. The universal use of interpreters is often disastrous.

Indian experience is of less use than might perhaps be expected —the problems are so different. The first need is the scientific gathering of information.

This requires special organisation. The conditions of life in Africa make it very difficult for officials to have time or strength for research. German and French study of this kind is going on very keenly.

What is the real character of African domestic *slavery*? It has never been studied. Until it is fully understood we are

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likely to apply remedies worse than the disease, as has already been done in some cases.

A number of labour ordinances have been put out all over the continent. What principle runs through them? What is the drift of the movement? Is it desirable that labour should be drawn away from the provinces to great industrial centres? This is another question of the utmost importance and interest.

Sir W. MacGregor contends that the real prosperity of the country depends on building up agricultural life to develop the resources of the several provinces.

Again there is the question of Mahommedanism, and the reason why it spreads over the whole country, while Christianity practically makes no way. May this not be greatly due to the complex doctrines which theologians have imposed on the simple and beautiful teaching of Christ?

The scientific questions are innumerable. Language is one of the most important. The series of African languages must be studied before any complete theory of language can be drawn up. It is the same with a whole range of ethnological problems and studies on primitive custom. In these and many other matters we may reasonably expect that the African Society will be an assistance to Government, and let us hope of advantage to the natives.

The partition of Africa may be justified, but only if the nations of Europe regard their possessions as a sacred trust: if they endeavour to lift the black pall which has so long overshadowed the "dark continent," and to brighten the lot of the unfortunate natives, for so many ages the victims of tyranny and oppression, but for whom we may venture to hope that brighter times are now in prospect.

SIR ALFRED LYALL, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Avebury for his interesting address, said: Lord Avebury is known to us all in economics, politics, municipal administration, in all questions connected with philanthropy, social improvement, in science, literature, commerce, finance. No one therefore could be better qualified to form an opinion, to express appreciation and to give advice to this Society upon the various

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subjects that come before us. From no one could we expect more valuable countenance and support.

No one will require further proof of what I have just said after hearing the address that Lord Avebury has just made. He has touched, I may say, with the hand of the master, upon an immense variety of points which must come before our Society in various ways. His advice and counsel and direction on all these subjects is I say of the greatest value.

He mentioned the physical characteristics of the country, the state of the natives, ethnography, anthropology, commerce. Above all he has given us the most valuable counsel upon the great and difficult question of dealing with and especially of administering the affairs of the native races. There is nothing, as everyone knows, which is so difficult as that.

He mentioned the question of languages, and the curious mistakes made especially in regard to the name of a tribe, or race. As to Asia I doubt whether any of the races known by Europeans bear the same name by which they know themselves. Where they do I should say it is pure accident. You have heard the old story—I do not know whether it is true—as to how the Kaffirs were so named. When first the Portuguese adventurers touched upon the African coast they asked the Arabs "What the tribes of the interior were called." They replied—"They are all Kaffirs." Kaffir meaning in the language of the Arabs that they are all infidels. From that time to this, they have been called Kaffirs. Thus it is that extraordinary mistakes may be made.

It is a great misfortune, I am sure, that this problem confronting European nations trying to do something for Africa should be complicated, as Lord Avebury has said, by the rivalry already begun between these European nations in the fight for territories, and in the fight over tariffs.

That is, doubtless, as Lord Avebury has said, one of the greatest difficulties before us. It inevitably affects our politics, and leads to conflict and controversy which we would rather avoid, and it fetters the free development of the people, of the natives.

I am exceedingly glad that Lord Avebury drew attention to

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that question. I will say no more except this, that remembering the number and the diversity and the arduousness of the duties, responsibilities and pursuits with which Lord Avebury is occupied it is remarkable that he has still found time to honour us with his presence here to-day. We all know that it is not only a sign of practical good will; but it is also the evidence of the superior capacity possessed by the men who are doing the highest work in the world. However their time may be occupied, and their hours taken up, they yet always find time to do anything they think worth doing. And it is one of the highest compliments paid to us that Lord Avebury should have thought it worth while to find time to come here to-day and deliver an address for which we are all thankful.

I therefore beg to move a vote of the highest thanks to Lord Avebury. (Cheers.)

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, in seconding the vote of thanks to Lord Avebury, said: Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall endeavour not to take up too much of your time in so simple and pleasant a task as seconding this vote of thanks.

Many of us have been solaced for this bad summer by reading that most delightful of books, *The Scenery of England*. I have lived myself to the age of forty-four, and I regret to say I never realised how our own country was constructed till I read Lord Avebury's book. I know it has given me an interest in my own land I had never felt before. However incorrectly I may read it I feel I have begun a just opened book.

Before I call upon you to express your thanks in seconding the motion brought forward by Sir Alfred Lyall I cannot resist taking up one or two points on this most interesting subject. Lord Avebury surveyed Africa from North to South and from East to West, and either by accident or design touched upon all the more interesting of its problems.

Lord Avebury has alluded to the remarkable fauna of Africa. He has alluded to the problems it suggests; and to the fact that the Northern part, Algeria and so forth, is in some respects more attached to Europe.

I think that when we know even more than we do now of the

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fossils of North and South Africa we shall find at any rate at some period in the earth's history, some relatively recent period, there has been absolutely continuous communication from Algeria in the North to the Cape in the South; and that the Sahara was no barrier. We know that even in historic times there were beasts still existing in Roman North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli) which nowadays are associated with Tropical Africa. And when we investigate still further in these countries we find remarkable resemblances between the fauna of Algeria and the fauna of Cape Colony.

But I should waste your time if I went too much into such particulars. It is only one of the problems Lord Avebury touched upon; but I venture to say it is one of the most interesting to pursue in future research.

I shall only attempt to say a few more words; and they shall be on the partition of Africa among European nations; and the natural bitterness we feel in regard to hostile tariffs.

To begin with, on paper, with the exception of old European colonies, there are no differential tariffs. The real truth is this. When any new territory has come under the direct control of France, it has been almost impossible for British subjects to carry on trade in that territory. The only exception I know of is Tunis, where we are under special treaty arrangements. But in spite of great difficulties British commerce flourishes. There are the Congo Free State and the Portuguese Colonies where in spite of a natural jealousy the British traders have won the good will of the local officials. Elsewhere, however, in all new French Africa, in spite of agreements, it has been made impossible for British firms to freely develop.

It is regrettable; but I do not think we consider the possibility of going to war to prevent it. And unless we went to war we should not prevent it.

But it should be remembered that we have taken under our control more territory in Africa than any other European Power, for, as regards commerce, the Egyptian Sudan is under our control. It would seem wiser therefore if, instead of quarrelling over regrettable and unfair exceptions made in regard to British trade throughout Africa, merchants first exhausted the vast territories under British control before they fussed about the

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future development of the French Congo. I know these hostile tariffs are unfair. But then on the other hand if the British did not practise free trade or fair trade is it likely that the other civilised nations of the world would allow us to hold without any opposition on their part such an enormous proportion of the best land on the earth's surface? It is because we never fetter the trade of other European nations that our control over these vast regions is accepted. It is the same in Africa. Though we have brought under control such large portions of that continent partly by accident partly by design we are endured by other European nations because they see they can trade as well in these countries as we can. We must content ourselves for their harsh treatment with the reflection that when British trade has free competition it generally gets the upper hand. These other nations do not wish always to play the second, third, fourth or fifth fiddle to us. They have to create their trades, and they have, so they believe, to protect them in various ways.

The position of one or two firms like Messrs. Holt, who were established in French Congo before the partition of Africa, and who now find themselves treated with what one can only call abominable injustice, is very hard; but these special cases for compensation ought not to be beyond our diplomacy. But in regard to newer enterprises it is better to give up bickering over these relatively small closed areas when we have huge territories of our own which traders have not touched. There is no trader from the United Kingdom at all in the whole of the Protectorate of Uganda. The only people doing trade there are the Germans. And if the firms who find themselves most unfairly and most unjustifiably treated in the French Congo would extend their operations to British Africa East and West, where the same kinds of rubber are produced, and in fact most of the other trade products, I think they would prosper exceedingly, and they would save themselves and our Government perfectly useless bickerings with France. For we are not going to war to punish this particular breach of treaty, however much we may resent the bad faith.

It seems to me we should waste less time and produce more fortunate results if we first of all exhausted all the vast territories

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under our own control before we attempted to trade in territories under another flag.

And finally I would repeat in a general way what Lord Avebury has said. Before we criticise the way in which other people manage the native questions in their territories let us be certain that in no hole or corner of our domain is any injustice done or mistake committed. When we are perfectly certain that under our own flag everything is as it should be then we may cast reflections upon other nations. Great space is given in our newspapers to tirades regarding the mismanagement of other peoples in Africa when I know that too often they are not based upon real fact. They are often distorted versions of the truth ; and the invented stories of disappointed people.

I second this vote of thanks with the real feeling that we have seldom listened to a more interesting review of the main facts about Africa.

MR. SWANZY: May I take the opportunity of supporting this resolution.

I should like in the first place to express great appreciation of the paper Lord Avebury has given us. He looks at the question of our occupation of so much territory in Africa from the highest point of view. He feels we should do the utmost we can for the inhabitants of these countries, but there is one point I should like to raise and that is in relation to the question of differential treatment.

I think Lord Avebury is wrong in referring to differential treatment on the part of Germany. I know that in the colony I trade in, a German colony, we are placed on precisely the same footing as Germans ; and we have never met with anything but courtesy from the governing officials. And I know the same is the case with regard to Kamerun, absolutely the same. There is no differential treatment whatsoever. I would ask my friend here on my right who is Secretary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to support me ; for I do not think it is fair that a feeling of hostility should be entertained towards Germany. I think we receive fair treatment from Germany. I admit that with regard to France the same cannot be said. Of course in the Congo we have been badly treated. But my firm has

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traded for years on the Ivory Coast, and has had nothing to complain of. I have felt I ought to refer to this matter because I cannot help thinking that Lord Avebury has been under a misapprehension certainly with regard to Germany.

MR. HELM (Secretary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce): Mr. Swanzy is perfectly right with regard to the German methods.

May I be allowed to say how deeply interested I have been in the address to which we have all listened.

What Lord Avebury has said inspires all who are interested in the trade of Africa to seek further instruction and knowledge; and it has given fresh spirit, hope and enterprise to carry forward the work that the African Society has in hand.

COUNT DE CARDI having put the vote it was passed with acclamation.

LORD AVEBURY: I am much obliged and am much flattered at the way in which you have received this vote of thanks. No man knows Asia better than my old friend Sir Alfred Lyall. And no one knows Africa better than Sir Harry Johnston. I should not have ventured to occupy the chair, had I known he was to be present.

I am interested in what Mr. Swanzy says because he knows the West Coast of Africa so well. I do not know that he is so correct as regards other parts. I have no doubt he is correct as regards that particular portion. It would encourage me to hope that what was done there might be done elsewhere also. I rather derived encouragement from what he said, encouragement to hope and believe that the same arrangement as that he referred to might be extended elsewhere. I dare not detain you any longer.

Thank you very much for the way in which you have received the vote of thanks.

The meeting then separated.

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